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ABSTRACT

The project investigated aspects of group dynamics and group behavior with mentally retarded adolescents, aged 18 to 25 years with a mental age ranging from 3 to 7 years, who worked in citriculture in Israel. The report began with an examination of the peer group principle, its relationship to childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, and its application to the mentally retarded. A short review of literature concerned with group work with the retarded precedes a detailed account of the group behavior techniques used with four groups of retarded boys. The establishment of the group as a team of workers in the citrus fields was outlined, and the importance of physical education for the retarded was developed as it applied to the Israeli program. In an attempt for the retardates to gain admission to the open labor market as farm employees, attitudes of prospective employers in the rural area were surveyed. A followup study focused on the group relationships of the retardates after they had completed the initial research project. The second part of the report concerned a group discussion of the four group instructors and the chief investigator, in which all aspects of the program were analyzed in a conversational manner. (CB)

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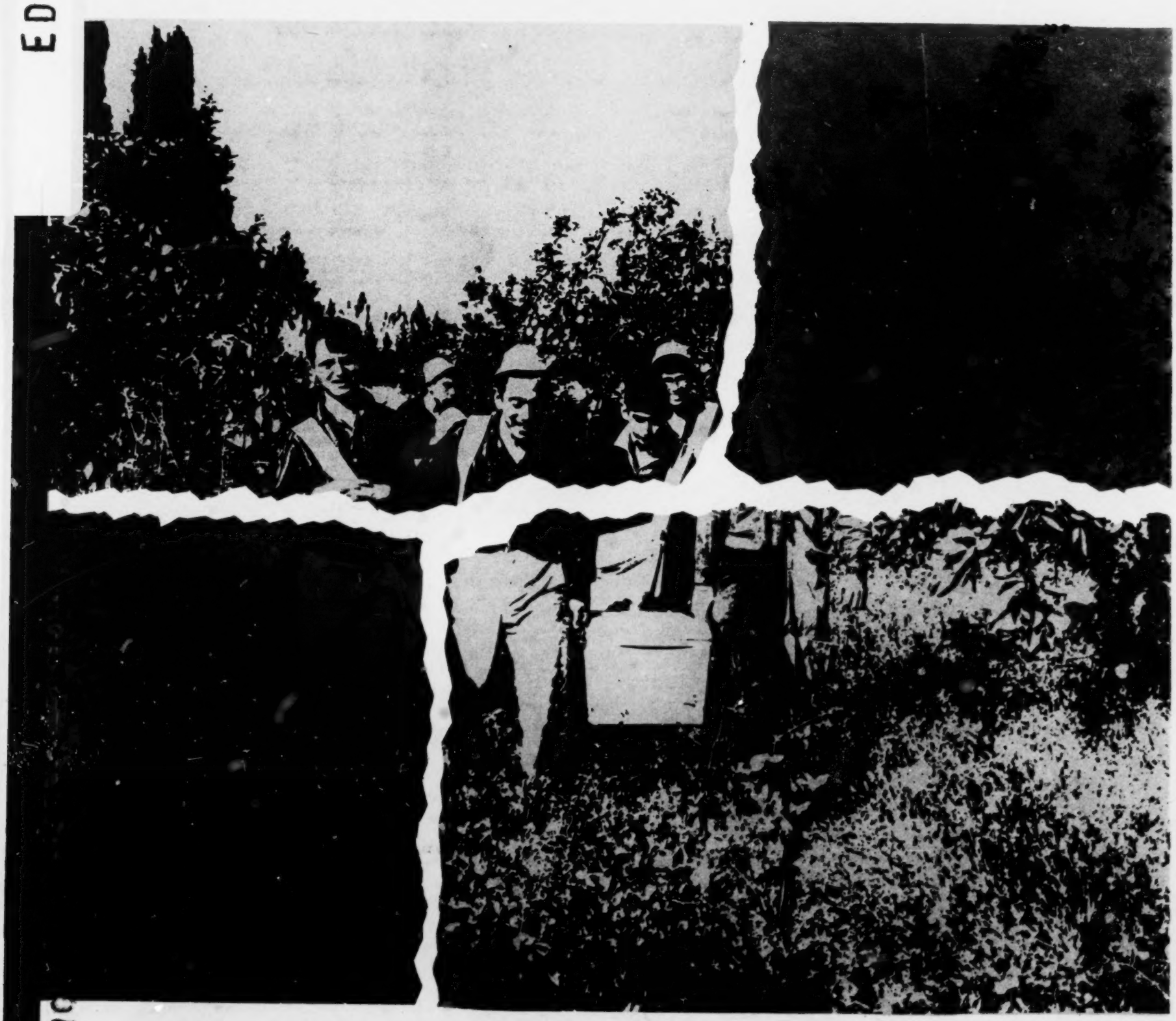
"THE USE OF A GROUP APPROACH IN THE REHABILITATION OF SEVERELY RETARDED ADOLESCENTS IN AGRICULTURE IN ISRAEL"

Dr. E. Chigier

FINAL REPORT



AKIM Israel Association for Rehabilitation of Mentally Handicapped October, 1970

EC041 10

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FINAL REPORT

Research Project VRA–ISR–23–65

Division of International Activities

Social and Rehabilitation Services

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20201

Chief Investigator:
Dr. E. Chigier, M.R.C.P.E., D.C.H.

AKIM
Israel Association for Rehabilitation of Mentally Handicapped
16, Bialik St., Tel Aviv, Israel

October, 1970

PERSONNEL

Advisory Committee:	Dr. I. Margulec – Medical director, Malben Medical Services, Israel. Mr. M. Rosenberg – Director, Service for the Retarded, Social Welfare Ministry, Jerusalem. Mrs. H. Kahn – Department for Overseas Relations, Social Welfare Ministry, Jerusalem. Mrs. B. Malinowski – Educational Psychology Department, Division of Education, Tel Aviv. (Deceased) Mrs. H. Karo – School of Social Work, Tel Aviv. Mr. M. Bedichi – Director, Kfar Nachman Institute for the Retarded. Mrs. F. Rothschild – National Social Worker, AKIM. Mr. B. Cohen – National Council, AKIM.
Chief Investigator:	Dr. E. Chigier, M.R.C.P.E., D.C.H.
Psychological Consultants:	Dr. S. Katz Ph.D. L. Gantwerk, M.A.
Group Instructors:	Moshe Peter Avraham Stroll Giora Koller Illan Marmori
Physical Education Instructor:	Reuben Heller
Social Worker:	R. Meyerson
Secretarial Assistants:	S. Kraus B. Shayowitz
Printing:	Technodaf, Tel-Aviv.

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E. C.

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INTRODUCTION

Initially, the aim of this project was to investigate ways and means of providing agricultural work for institutionalised retardates in Israel. In itself, the concept of agricultural work for retardates is not a new one. If anything, the increasing mechanisation and consequent drop, in the need for farm man-power has worked against the trend of employing retardates in this area. However, in certain fields, such as citriculture, the work of maintaining the groves, pruning the trees, and picking the fruit is still done by hand. Similarly work in a tree nursery or in parks still basically depends upon manual work. This project concentrated therefore on citriculture and work in parks, and has succeeded in demonstrating that retardates aged 18 to 25 years with a mental age ranging 3 to 7 years can carry out this kind of work satisfactorily.

Over and above the initial purpose, the project had another aim which I believe has much more significance. The method used in the project was that of creating a "**group milieu**". Based on the belief that even severe retardates can be positively motivated through a group experience, the participants in the project were organised in group of ten each with a group instructor who worked with them as a group for eight hours a day. The experience with four groups has convinced us that a group technique can be an extremely valuable tool in the rehabilitation of the retarded, and that retardates can derive dramatic benefits through participation in this form of therapy.*

In order to investigate some aspects of group dynamics with the retarded, the project has extended beyond the confines of agricultural work for the mentally handicapped. This concern for the principle of group work with the retarded is reflected in the contents of the Final Report.

The Report begins therefore with a consideration of the peer group principle, (Chapter One) its value in childhood, adolescence and adulthood, and its application to the mentally retarded. A review of the literature with regard to group work with the retarded is presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Three provides details of the use of the group technique with four groups of retarded – sample, method, progress and outcome. Chapter Four contains an exploratory study on how a group becomes consolidated, as demonstrated in one of the four groups. The importance of physical education for the severely retarded is stressed in Chapter Five, as well as a description of the physical education program, its aims and objects, and results.

* A 16 mm. colour movie *"Ordinary Work"* on the project is available for loan or purchase. (See page 86)

Since our object was to gain admission of our groups into the open labour market, Chapter Six deals with the question of attitudes of employers and the public in a rural community towards the retarded, and their reactions towards employment of the retarded. The last chapter (Seven) in the first part of the report contains details of the follow through – what happened with the groups after termination of the research project, and the nature and extent of utilisation of research findings.

Perhaps with this, the report could have ended. However, since the project dealt with the use of a specific technique for handling human problems of the retarded, it was felt that the "dry bones" of scientific reporting should be clothed with the flesh of encounter between group instructor and trainees. The second part of the report therefore consists of a round-table discussion between the four group instructors and the chief investigator. The hopes, frustrations, triumphs, disappointments, trials, tribulations, doubts, and devotedness of the young men who worked with the trainees are reported in the hope that these details will make the project more vivid to the reader through the addition of the human dimension.

Group work with the retarded is more than just a technique. It is based on an outlook; on a philosophy which believes that individuals flower and flourish best in a congenial social environment. As a technique, group work is singularly inexpensive: as a way of thinking it is both demanding and exhilirating. The application both of technique and philosophy to various groups of retardates of various ages and in various settings (school, sheltered workshop, hostel, institution, open industry) awaits the dynamic research worker who is willing to try something different, and is capable of getting out of the "individualistic strait-jacket".

Dr. E. Chigier.

Chapter One

THE PEER GROUP PRINCIPLE

* Vertical and Horizontal Relationships
* Children in the Kibbutz
* The Broshim Day School for disturbed boys
* How children learn
* References

Vertical and Horizontal Relationships

There are two forms of relationships – vertical and horizontal. During the period of childhood the accent is on vertical relationships, i.e.: relationships between the child and parents, teachers, instructors, group leaders, social workers, probation officers and many other adults. There is less emphasis on horizontal relationships, i.e.: between child and child.

During adulthood the model changes. More emphasis is placed on horizontal relationships, e.g.: husband-wife, family members, neighbours, co-workers, friends, social groups, commercial contacts. Less emphasis is placed on vertical relationships, e.g.: employers, police officers. Adults also tend to become superiors in their relationships to their own children and to other young people, and sometimes as employers.

The period of development in adolescence can be regarded as a change-over from the child model to that of the adult, a process of "tilting" which may cause understandable stresses and strains. What happens to the retarded adolescent or young adult? Generally speaking, and especially in cases of moderate to severe retardation – we tend to see the retarded adolescent or young adult as a child, because of his intellectual limitations. The child model is thus retained, with its emphasis on vertical relationships. (See diagram.)

This concept is an unrealistic one. A retarded adolescent or young adult is an exceptional **adolescent or young adult,** just as a retarded child is an exceptional **child.** Being exceptional implies two things:

a) that in some matters one is different, and

b) in some matters one is the same as other people of the same age.

The retarded adolescent, for instance, is similar to non-retarded adolescents in having sexual impulses, in having an ambition to seek gratification through personal achievement; in having a highly vulnerable self-esteem.

It should be clear therefore that attempts to utilise the childhood model with its emphasis on vertical relationships as a basis for managing the retarded adolescent, are unrealistic and should be abandoned.

However, I would like to go one stage further. We assume that the mentally retarded are like children. We also **assume** that children need to be maintained in a **vertical hierarchy,** ("the child must know his place") because of two factors.

a) "Children lack responsibility" and they therefore require adult controls.

b) "Children lack knowledge" and therefore must learn from superiors through vertical relationships.

This is not necessarily true. These assumptions have led to the neglect of emphasis on horizontal relationships in children. I believe that the peer group principle has important potential in childhood, which is generally unrecognised and not utilised. Four examples – from Israel – will be used to point out the possible values of the peer group principle.

1. Children in the Kibbutz

The Kibbutz is a unique Israeli institution which has been subjected to a number of studies.

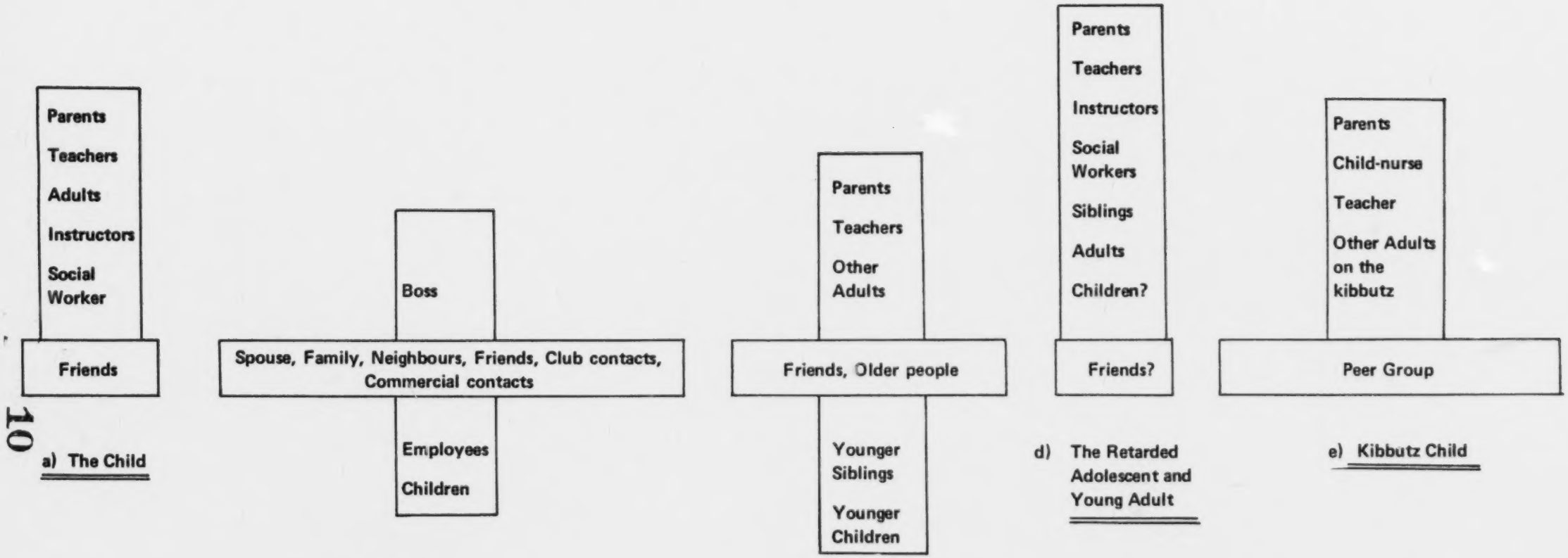
It has existed in the country for over sixty years and, at present, there are 230 kibbutzim with a population of 90,000, a little under 4 percent of the Israel population (Kerem 1970). Characteristically it is a collective settlement, where all members work towards the common good without deriving direct financial benefits, the work being mainly in agriculture, but recently also in industry, and to some extent in the professional field.

In nearly all kibbutzim, children from birth onwards do not live with their parents. They are part of an organised children's community, living, eating and studying together in units which contain all the facilities – study, dormitory and extra-curricular – for children of a particular age, under the care of a child nurse (metapelet) and with a close affectionate relationship to their parents in most cases.

Thus, from birth until adulthood, the kibbutz child lives in a peer group milieu. There is evidence that the kibbutz child learns to be aware of the presence of his peers, and derives comfort from them, by the age of five months (Spiro 1958), joins a selective in-group by ten months (Spiro 1958) and will be able to help a peer from the age of 2–3 years (Bettelheim 1968). Kibbutz children show better abilities at solving problems that require co-operation between a number of children. Emotional pathology is less severe amongst kibbutz children as compared to urban children in Israel (Kaffman 1965). Where an "out-cast" child is found, it is usually the result of two factors.

a) A disturbed parent child relationship;

b) The inability of the peer group to absorb the disturbed child because of a poor nurse or sudden change of nurse (Kaffman 1965).



MODEL OF VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS

The peer group is a source of constant stimulation for the kibbutz child. "The company of his peer encourages full exploitation of his intellectual abilities" (Levin 1970). Solidarity of the group and desire to be with the group increase with age. As the child grows older, there is more of an increase in integrative as compared to disintegrative behaviour (Spiro 1958) Socialisation of the child both as a training and as a nurturant process is carried out by his peers The child who makes progress receives praise from his peers, the child who is the victim of aggression is protected and the aggressor is attacked.

Bettelheim (1968) noted that there is no bullying By toddler age, the children are self-reliant and are comrades, not competitors. A peer-group morality of co-operation becomes dominant. The outcome is that ninety percent of kibbutz adolescents think that the kibbutz upbringing is the best in the country, and that it instills confidence in its members, and hope that their children will get the same kind of upbringing (Rabin 1968). Over the years some 75 percent of the kibbutz-born children have remained in the kibbutz, despite the rapid urbanization in Israel (Kerem 1970). Kibbutz young people score significantly higher on differential perception tests, evidence ability to function on their own, and also know how to work as part of a team (Kerem 1970)

Kibbutz born youth have distinguished themselves out of all proportion to their numbers in the army services both in their readiness to take on dangerous and responsible tasks as well as their success in leadership positions (Palgi 1970). It has been hypothesised that the type of socialisation in the kibbutz promotes personal autonomy and other aptitudes necessary for high grade performance in the particular situations which are demanded from a soldier in Israel (Amir 1969)

The number of kibbutz members who are university students and university teachers is constantly increasing (Nagler 1970). In most cases the second generation enters into the work aspect of Kibbutz life without creating tension with the elder generation (Alon 1970)

Divorce among the "young" (i.e.: second generation, or young members who come to the kibbutz) is significantly lower than in the "veteran" kibbutz population (Gerson 1970). It has also been noted that in the older kibbutzim the original population of peer-group couples has changed into almost extended families, with the kibbutz as one of the few places in modern society where three generations are often concentrated in the same close-knit community (Palgi 1970).

Conclusion:

The kibbutz child lives in a society where vertical and horizontal relationships are equal in length.

The development of horizontal relationships through peer-group and inter-age group living provides an additional source of social learning

If the application of the peer group principle has been shown to be of benefit to kibbutz infants and children, there is no reason why it should not be of equal benefit in dealing with retarded children, adolescent or adults.

2. The "Broshim" School for emotionally disturbed disadvantaged pre-adolescents (Tel-Aviv).

The "Broshim" day school in Tel-Aviv run by the Municipal Division of Education caters for about 70 boys 8–12 years of age who are from disadvantaged families and show marked "acting-out" negative behaviour. Candidates are therefore boys whose behaviour was such that they cannot be maintained in a regular grade school (which is based on vertical relationships). The aim of the school is to re-educate the child so that he may return to a regular grade-school within one to three years.

The school works at diminishing the emphasis on vertical relationships in two ways.

a) Extensive use of group techniques – dance and movement therapy, drama circle, group art therapy, school zoo.

b) The use of self-governing groups.
"We carry out our re-educational program in the social sphere by three principal means: group duscussions in class, meetings of class representatives in the governing assembly, and the children.s court." (Staff Report 1970)

1. **Group discussions in class** are held weekly (with the teacher and the children sitting in a circle) dealing with any social or communal subject coming up in the life of the class.

2. **Meeting of representatives** to the governing assembly is held three times a month. At these meetings one representative from each class participates as well as the adults on the school staff. The representative is elected by his class. Each child has his turn for 2 to 3 sessions a month at this job in the course of the year – up to ten times a year. He brings to the meetings the suggestions and requests of his class, or problems brought up at the class meeting, for which a solution could not be found, and problems of concern to the well being of the whole school community.

The right to bring up problems for discussion and the right to vote are equal for children and grown-ups. The resolutions of the representatives' meeting (passed by democratic vote) are binding on the entire community.

The boys' relationship to the problems coming up for discussion passes through several stages.

1. In the beginning the child offers suggestions for punishment, or vengeance, for the action under discussion. After a relatively short time, he realises that particularly the senior child representatives at meetings refrain generally from reactions of punishment.

2. Then he suggests solutions which are in accordance with his estimate of what will be accepted by the other representatives (although he himself still thinks in terms of "an eye for an eye".).

3. At a later stage of development, he begins to refer to the act under consideration, without rejecting the child who committed it, and mostly he states his real view – and not one that he thinks the others want to hear from him. Gradually there starts to appear a relation to the benefit of the

community – in the expressions of the representatives there starts to appear the word "we" instead of "I".

Towards the end of the child's stay at the school, he arrives at such a level of understanding of interpersonal relationships, particularly between child and child, that he offers constructive suggestions that frequently are superior to those presented by the adult. Not infrequently it happens that the suggestion of the adult is rejected in the assembly and the view of the child representative accepted instead

3. **The Children's Court** – is also composed of the representatives of the classes and it meets only in special cases (from three to five times a year) in the presence of the school principal. It meets in cases where the governing assembly decided that a certain action was especially serious and ought to be brought before the court.

The importance of the court lies in the fact that the judges are the class representatives to the governing assembly, meaning that each child has an equal opportunity to be a judge. Our experience has shown that the child judges identify themselves to a great extent with the child being judged, and refer only to the action committed by him without rejecting the child himself (the accused sits in the circle together with the judges and the principal, and the subject of the discussion is only the misdeed itself).

Experience also has proved that the relation of the judges to the accused is based on a sincere will to help him and to find a solution to his problem." (Staff Report 1970.)

Conclusion

This program has been highly successful in re-educating unmanageable young boys. The experience gained suggest that social behaviour can be improved in emotionally disturbed boys by the development of horizontal relationships, rather than heavier emphasis on vertical relationships. This policy should be equally pertinent in the management of behavioural problems in retarded adolescents and young adults.

Responsibility and the Retarded Adolescent

The next example is anectodal. At a school for the retarded in a deprived area of Tel-Aviv, a girl aged 12 years, with an I.Q. of 75, was a difficult behaviour problem. She would not stay in the class-room, but would wander around the school or the playground or the street outside; i.e.: she had difficulty in accepting a vertical relationship to the teacher.

The usual methods of handling a problem of this kind – mobilizing parents, headmaster and social worker – did not work; they only increased the emphasis on vertical relationships.

One day, the teacher of the third grade class at the school had to leave early. This girl came upon the unattended class and promptly took over the teacher's role. She sent one student to the headmaster with the following note:

"To the principal: – Illanah is learning well and pays attention to the work that I gave her in arithmetic. I will also give her Hebrew to do, and some drawings to draw. Thank you very much – Orah."

(This note had some spelling mistakes.)

There are two points worthy of note:

a) a retarded difficult adolescent can show evidence of responsibility in a setting where vertical relationships are not imposed;

b) a retarded difficult adolescent was able to exploit instinctively the existence of vertical relationships in a positive way – a note of commendation to the headmaster. How many teachers send notes of **commendation** about students to the headmaster or to parents?

How Children Learn

We tend to assume that the child learns through a vertical relationship, i.e.: from a parent or teacher. However, this is not always the case.

Israel, as a country of immigrants, has had many pre-school children whose parents cannot speak Hebrew. Yet, these children learn the language not from parents or teachers but from other children – through social contacts, through the need to communicate, through use of concrete examples, and because they have something to say and/or listen to which they feel is relevant to the social framework.

Thus, young children are able to learn from a horizontal relationship. An extreme example in our country is that deaf infants can learn to lip-read in Hebrew from other children in cases where the parents themselves do not speak the language.

How does learning through horizontal relationship take place? One possibility is through a two-step diffusion process (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). In the same way as spread in the use of a new antibiotic in the medical community occurs through its adoption by the "key physicians" it is possible that key children or adolescents learn through a vertical relationship, and then may act as "teachers" or "moulders" for other children, through the application of horizontal relationships.

If this might be true for the infant or pre-school child when he is in a socialising environment of peers, it is possible that learning, especially social learning can occur with the retarded through a similar process if he is placed in a similar socialising environment.

Summary

In this chapter, I have tried to indicate the need for thinking in terms of the peer group principle. The development and exploitation of horizontal relationships can be extremely useful for the child and for the retardate in promoting cooperation, utilisation of authority, acceptance of responsibility and learning (especially social learning) when applied in the correct social context.

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Chapter Two

GROUP WORK WITH THE RETARDED

A Review of the Literature

* Psychotherapy and counselling for the retarded.
* Milieu therapy.
* Motivational factors in retarded adolescents and young adults.
* Group play therapy for the retarded child.
* Group work as a preparation for return to the community.
* Group therapy with the retarded.
* Discussion.
* References

Psychotherapy and counselling for the retarded

Until recently, mental retardation was regarded as something static. Due to ante-natal, natal or post-natal causes a child was noted to be mentally defective and remained with this defect for the rest of his life. With this kind of viewpoint, the possibility of improvement was regarded as negligible – either intellectually or socially. Change for the worse was seen as indicative of degeneration, converting a poor prognosis into a hopeless one. This view was particularly poignant in dealing with the severely retarded.

Progress in dealing with the mentally retarded could only occur with a change of viewpoint from the static to the developmental. With this attitude the mentally retarded child is seen as someone who has a mental defect, following which certain things happened to him, which in turn affect the subsequent developmental behaviour of the retardate. The developmental implications of mental retardate have been summed up by Thorne (1950) as follows:

> "The constitutionally inadequate are characteristically dependent upon others because of inability to compete well, and become involved in circular reactions of frustration, secondary unhealthy personality reactions, social reflection and dependency. Lacking the personality resources to solve major problems alone, it may require active directive methods of counselling to supplement what the mental defective can do for himself."

The need to provide counselling and therapy for the retarded, to prevent "secondary complications" has been stressed by Weist (1955), Stacey and De Martino (1957), Mundy (1957). At the London conference on the scientific study of mental deficiency Shapiro (1962) stated:

Since care in a large scale institution is generally detrimental to the development of the retarded, included the severely retarded, the change in patterns of institutional care in itself can be expected to result in improvement through prevention of inevitable deterioration (King and Raynes 1968).

The effectiveness of milieu therapy is dependent upon the attitudes of the attendants. Stubblebine and Roadruck (1956) reported on a treatment program for 65 adolescent males with average chronological age of 15.8 years, and an average I.Q. of 60, who had unacceptable behaviour patterns. They conclude: "We have demonstrated to our satisfaction that a milieu conducive to emotional growth of disturbed retarded adolescents can be created using the lay staff of psychiatric technicians. We feel that motivation of patients was directly proportional to the earnestness and effectiveness with which adults about them obtained some measure of personal insight."

The team approach was regarded as very important. The kind of activity was regarded as being less important than the feeling of warmth felt by the child through enough attention from the adults in his environment.

Gunzburg (1965) warns against use of psychotherapy for the retarded without the framework of milieu therapy stating that formal psychotherapy, if carried out in isolation has very little chance of achieving lasting results. The ventilating effect may lead to disturbances which in turn may result in over reaction, thus destroying any good that was in the program. The plea that "therapy must grow from every aspect of hospital life" is a justified one, but under present circumstances is likely to remain unanswered in most institutional settings.

Motivational factors in retarded adolescents and young adults

Although the retarded adolescent or adult may have the mental age of a child, it has become clear that he does not behave as a child, nor can he be treated as one. The characteristics of the mentally retarded adolescent have been pointed out by Hammer and Barnard (1965) and Segal (1967).

Segal emphasizes that adolescent retardates often have specific interests related to their chronological age rather than to the level of intellectual development. They are confused about their identity, and combine a desire to be adults with a limited understanding of adult ways. The universal question "when will I get a job" is an outcome of many influences – cultural standards, tradition, inner needs for identification, and the need to be a productive person. In conclusion the author states "If retarded adolescents are to be helped to achieve more satisfactory lives – all those who are working on their behalf, parents and professional persons, must recognise that these young people are **adolescents**, with all the desires, expectations and confused emotions that come with adolescence, and at the same time are individuals, each with his own personality, own special way of looking at things, and own degree of strength, weakness and potentiality.

The importance of motivational factors in rehabilitation has been pointed out by Goldin et al (1968). They advanced the following tentative recommendations:

"The hypothesis on which treatment is based is that the therapeutic effect is due not to the intellectual appreciation of theoretical constructs but to the working through of the previous phases of negatively affected development within the feeble minded range. Psycho-analysis of children as young as four or five years is regularly and successfully carried out, and the feeble minded has a mental age well above this."

A survey of opinions and practices with regard to counselling and psychotherapy for the mentally retarded was carried out by Woody and Billy (1966), and Ayers and Duguay (1966), have discussed the critical variables in counselling the mentally retarded. The latter stress that the mentally retarded have the same emotional and social needs as "normal" people, and to build a healthy personality when these needs are satisfied, they need (like others) to feel a sense of security in their relationship with others, to improve their self-esteem through working. The importance of changing the concept of the retarded in his own eyes and in the eyes of others is emphasized.

The aims of psycho-therapy with mental defectives, were noted by Thorne (1948) to be as follows:

1. accepting the mentally defective as being a worthy individual in spite of his defects.
2. permitting expression and clarification of emotional reactions.
3. patiently teaching the mentally defective methods for resisting frustration and achieving emotional control.
4. outlining standards for acceptable conduct within the ability of each child.
5. building up self-confidence and respect by providing experiences of success.
6. training the child to seek help intelligently through counselling when faced with insurmountable problems.

Milieu therapy

The value of milieu therapy in rehabilitation medicine has been discussed by Kutner (1968).

Through environmental therapy with extensive counselling with 69 retardates, ranging from 9–49 years, and from imbecile to borderline normal, for a period of two years, Thorne's (1948) results were that 66 per cent improved, (as measured by conduct & disciplinary breaches, school and work records, clinical judgement) 23 per cent were unchanged, and only ten per cent deteriorated.

More modest results were noted by Chase (1953) when using the same technique of environmental therapy combined with counselling with fifty institutionalised retardates ranging in chronological age from 17–44 years, and in mental age from 5–13 years. On rating by the staff, 28 per cent were considered improved, and 66 per cent moderately improved, while 6 per cent showed no improvement in behaviour and social adaptation.

1. Workshop and rehabilitation personnel can utilize their relationship with clients in order to motivate them

2. Clients should be grouped so that interpersonal interaction may serve as incentive for positive performance and achieve reinforcing qualities itself

3. All tasks in the rehabilitation process should allow sufficient range of growth to sustain the client's interest.

4. Tasks selected for the client in rehabilitation should have some intrinsic challenge for the client and some novelty so that he may achieve satisfaction in the performance of the task itself.

These recommendations are as pertinent to the mentally retarded as they are to other clients.

A study by Gordon et al (1955) with four groups, each composed of ten male imbeciles, who had poor concentration and had been in institutions for many years, showed that a concrete goal acted as a powerful incentive to improved performance of a negative task. Self-competition was noted to be a more effective incentive than competition with others.

Other incentives such as reward and punishment, in both directions, concrete and indirect was shown by Wolfensberger (1960) to have little effect on increasing output on a reaction time task, as compared to a control group. On the contrary, performance decline, in spite of reward or punishment, occurred in all four experimental groups. The author recommended "that verbal interpersonal reinforcement should be investigated as perhaps being more efficacious than material rewards."

The effect of competition, co-operation and monetary reward on the work performance of trainable adults was investigated by Huddle (1967).

A reward group was found to perform significantly better than a non-reward group, but no difference was found in the reward sub-groups working individually, competitively, or co-operatively. Intrinsic motivation alone was not enough to sustain interest or performance.

Kliebhan (1967) used goal-setting and modelling techniques, based on two social learning theories, in an on-going work training program for 48 retarded male adolescents with a mean I.Q. of 59. Production increased significantly and work quality was found to be superior to that of a control group performing under traditional methods. The results suggested that the work potential of adolescent retardates could be effectively augmented by both personal and social motivational factors.

Cleland et al (1968) worked with educable males, aged 25–45 years, who had been in an institution for five years or more continuously, and concluded that their subjects demonstrated a willingness to work and attitude necessary for successful job performance. The characteristics of dependency and suggestibility could be manipulated to modify the self-concept of the retardate. Work deprivation, social reinforcement, and peer support through group placement on leaving the institution, were considered as powerful work motivators, and this three-stage model could be tested as a paradigm for habilitation.

Group techniques have been used in recreation, in play therapy, as a preparation for return to the community, and as group therapy (usually within an institution for the retarded). Our discussion will

touch lightly on group play therapy, and group work as a preparatory phase, and will then deal more extensively with group therapy for the retarded.

Group Play Therapy for the retarded child

For therapy to be effective, it should be provided at an early age. Maisner (1950) noted that play therapy can be effective as a habilitation technique in an institution for high-grade mentally deficient and borderline children, and can also be used within a group. Mehlman (1953) reported on group play therapy with mentally retarded children. Johnson (1953) used Raven's Progressive Matrices to measure the potential for progress in institutionalised retarded children who received play therapy. Leland et al (1956, 1962) used group play therapy with post-nursery male retardates. It was noted that amongst emotionally disturbed, brain-damaged, mentally retarded children the need to establish a level of self understanding, impulse control and social interaction, were best served in play therapy.

Group work as a preparation for return to the community

Cleland et al (1968) reported that return from the institution to the community can be facilitated through peer support, and that there is room for considering the desirability of group placement.

Ferguson (1967) has reported on the use of social group work to prepare residents for community placement, while the Association for the Help of Retarded Children (1963) has used small groups of retardates for integration into a community center.

Kaufman (1965) used group psychotherapy to prepare for the return of mental defectives from the institutions to the community. He worked with a group of eight males, with I.Q.'s ranging from 61–77 and chronological ages from 18–25 years. They had all been in the institution for a number of years. Although accepting present adjustment as he found it, the therapist aimed at actively encouraging the individual's potential for constructive charge.

The early phase of group therapy was characterised by chaos. Later, stabilisation was evident and inter-personal interest became manifest. Notable features were catharsis, transference, a new impetus to learning, and increasing social pressures of the group towards conformity. After one year's therapy, increased socialisation was evident. Of the seven placed in the community, six were permanently discharged from the institution three years later.

Group therapy with the retarded

The awareness that group dynamics can function with retardates dates back from 1938 with papers by Kephart on group autonomy in a children's institution, and a report on a method of heightening social adjustment in an institutional group. Marius (1948) carried out a group study on defectives who were delinquent. Cotzin (1948) carried out group psychotherapy with nine boys aged

amongst 34 others who were paroled and had not been in the group program. The best results were obtained with these who were depressed, eight out of nine showing improvement. Amongst those with schizoid and with general acting out behaviour patterns, nine showed improvement.

Change was mostly evident with regard to feelings of isolation, shame and fear. The author concludes that the group experience facilitated the recognition of the dependency needs which play an important role in the personalities of many institutionalised mental defectives. The group was used by them to explore the significance of their mental retardation.

This paper is a useful contribution, and indicates that the behaviour patterns present in retardates are not equally amenable to group therapy.

Heller (1955) held 44 hourly group sessions for approximately two years for a group totalling 33 male and female feeble minded ranging in ages from 15–55 years. The technique used was verbal discussion. The therapists' observations on the results were that 42 per cent had a very good or good response, 49 per cent showed a slight to poor response, and in nine per cent there was a negative response. With the modest effect of sessions held usually once a fortnight, the use of verbal discussion alone, and the heterogenity of age of the group, it is significant that despite these limitations, about haif the retardates showed a good response.

Ringelheim and Polatzek (1955) presented a preliminary report on group therapy with seven male retardates, all of whom with personality disorders and overt anxiety. Chronological ages ranged from 16–38 years, with a mean age of 23.8 years. Intelligence quotients ranged from 68 to 86 with a mean of 75. The length of their stay in the institution ranged from one month to nineteen years with a mean period of three years, five months. Thirty hourly sessions were held over a period of seven months. For initial **organisational** stage, the therapist was passive, with the group acting against the therapist. In the **integrative** stage, the therapist was active, and discussed common difficulties with the participants. After five months interest had deteriorated, with the therapist doing all the talking. It was observed that the retardates had no self-insight, and that there was little verbal interplay. Personal problems tended to come first, with no ability to move from the general to the specific problem. A strengthening of group inter-relationship was noted, as also a strengthened relationship to the therapist. The advantage of having a co-therapist is pointed out. On follow-up little observable change was noted. Two were placed outside successfully.

The criteria for evaluation were somewhat nebulous, and a further stumbling-block was the absence of criteria to measure behavioural changes.

Vail (1955) reported on an unsuccessful experiment in group therapy, with twenty-one retardates who were chronically disturbed delinquents. Their ages ranged from 12 to 37 years, with one half in the 14–17 year age group. Intelligence quotients ranged from 35 to 72 and two were non-defectives. Hourly meetings were held twice a week for 7½ months, totalling 54 sessions. Verbal non-directive discussion of problems was the technique used, and limits were set with regard to "rough-housing" or destruction of property. Attendance was irregular, ranging from 4–10 participants, with a changing unstructured set-up and a rapid turnover. The early phase was regarded as good. The middle phase became one of general activity, with demands on the therapist for cigarettes, walks and rides off the

11–15 years with I.Q.'s ranging from 50–79 who had problematic behaviour. Over three weeks, ten 75 minute sessions were arranged, with minimal verbal techniques. Teachers and therapists noted improvement in social adjustment.

This pioneer report was followed by a paper of Fisher and Wolfson in 1953. Two groups of females were treated. One group, consisted of 8 retardates, between 10–12 years of age, with a mental age ranging from 5–7 years, of which five were aggressive and three withdrawan. The second group, had four retardates 12–13 years of age, with a mental age of 6–8 years, two being aggressive and two withdrawn. The worker used an extremely permissive technique for 36 sessions in each group. The groups went through the phases of testing the limits, regressing to destructive play, then moving from egocentredness to group centredness, positive sibling transference, becoming an out-group, and finally orientation towards the outside. The need to be accepted as individuals changed to the need of being accepted as a group by other groups. In the younger group six showed improved behaviour, while in the older group only two improved. Results were poorer in the older group possibly because of poor selection. Despite change in out-group interest, there was no change in psychometry. Personnel and fellow patients often reacted with resentment and confusion to these changes. The authors stressed the need to accept the individual as he is, as being the basis for therapy.

Yonge and Connor (1954) used a non-directive technique for 32 hourly sessions twice a week for six months with seven male defective delinquents aged 16–20 years, with I.Q.'s ranging from 52–77 on the Wechsler verbal intelligence scale. The members of the group were characterised by anti-social behaviour, an inability to profit from experience, and a failure to appreciate moral or social values. Following therapy, there were statistically significant changes on several attitudes, with marked improvement in workshop behaviour, and a slight trend towards improved diligence.

As in many other articles, follow-up is not mentioned, and the authors emphasize the need for follow-up. On the basis of their experience, methods for evaluating group psychotherapy with unstable defective delinquents are discussed by the same authors in a subsequent paper (O'Connor & Yonge 1955).

Five reports on group psychotherapy with young adult retardates, were published in 1955. Astrachan (1955) worked with retardates who had a mean age of nineteen years. The range of intelligence on the Wechsler scale was 49–104 (verbal and 46–119 (non verbal performance). The group had eight patients at any one time and met continuously for one hour twice weekly for a period of thirty months. Altogether thirty one females participated who had the following behaviour patterns. Nine were depressed, six schizoid, five showed general acting out, while four demonstrated sexual acting out. Mild paranoia was regarded as being present in three, excessive passivity in three others and one was considered as being very immature. The therapist was passive in her approach. The nature of the meeting was informal, through verbal communication, mostly dealing with complaints, and later on expressing the thoughts of the participants.

Nine females did not continue. Amongst those who did continue, fourteen were paroled, and only two of them returned to the institution (14 per cent) as compared to 38 percentage return

grounds (which were refused). The late phase was characterised by spotty attendance and activity, The outcome was that a negative relationship was found between improvement and group attendance. The author considered that the I.Q. range was too wide

This paper, together with that of Astrachan and Rogelheim, indicates failure with the adoption of classic group psychotherapeutic techniques with the mentally retarded.

A report on the use of a group therapy technique with a mixed group of retardates was published by Michal-Smith et al in 1955. The group consisted of 6–10 young adults aged 18–27 years who were regarded as functioning socially and intellectually at the 5–10 year old level. Only two members could travel independently on public transportation.

Meeting were held for two hours once a week for a total of thirty sessions, and the participants looked forward very much to these meetings. Two therapists were utilized – male and female – so as to act as "surrogate parents".

The first phase was devoted to **motoric group therapy** with the use of marches, games and exercises. Three stages of development were noted

a Therapist – child identification relationship.

b. Child-therapist-other child identification relationship.

c. Child-other child-therapist identification relationship

The second phase was devoted to **oral language therapy,** and was structured in a club setting. Activities included election of officers, payment of dues, oral recitation of minutes, and the use of a simplified parliamentary procedure. The aim was to bring anxiety to the fore and channelise or dispel it. The role of the therapist was to enable the child to carry this anxiety to areas which would perpetuate his movement towards further development. The technique was geared to a registration of body self and social development, keeping in mind the retardation that was present. The outcome was not described specifically, but the authors felt that results were seen in more adequate adjustments in society, greater productivity, greater social development, better handling of social relationships and family situations, and a more realistic awareness of their handicap.

In a discussion by De Martino (1957) on group therapy with the mentally retarded, the author regards "social hunger" (Slavson 1950) as the rationale for its utilisation. Care should be taken in selection of participants, and factors for consideration should include size of group, age, intellectual level, emotional maturity and personality characteristics of participants. The group should not be larger than eight or preferably seven, since a larger number slows the group down, and increases the numbers who remain on the periphery of the group, and are uninvolved in the process. The author considers that it is probably hazardous to include members under thirteen years of age, or those with I.Q.'s below a high-grade classification, although in certain cases it may be possible. An attempt should be made to achieve homogeneity, with intelligence and personality factors not too dissimilar amongst participants. If participants are from an institution they should have known each other personally beborhand. Open questions remain with regard to groups of both sexes, and the factor of similar etiology.

In therapy, limits should be set, i.e.: definite time limit, no display of direct physical aggression, no throwing of objects, no unnecessary loud shouting, no destruction of equipment and no wandering about the room (!..). The atmosphere should be warm, permissive and non-threatening. The therapist should have a warm personality, a good sense of humor, and not be embarrassed by personal questions. The nature of the program would include discussion, and permit overt expression of aggression."

The advice given by the author indicates an attempt to transfer conventional methods of group therapy to the area of the retardate, and is unlikely to lead to much success.

A study on changes in adjustment of institutionalized female defectives following group psychotherapy was reported by Wilcox and Guthrie (1957). Ninety seven retardates, ranging in age from 15–43 years, and in I.Q. from 53 to 90 were organised into twelve therapy groups, each group meeting for one hour three times a week for a total of twenty-five sessions. Ratings were then made based on the number of "critical incidents" and on an adjustment scale. Statistically significant differences were noted between the experimental and control groups. However, there was no follow-up.

Group psychotherapy with epileptic mentally deficient adults is the subject of a report by Stubblebine (1957). Six patients, ranging in age from 19 to 55 years, and in I.Q. from 55 to 102, who were dislikeable, sullen and very limited in social activities, met for hourly sessions twice a week for 22 weeks – a total of 36 sessions. The approach was permissive, and when the retardates did not talk, there were long silences. It was noted that in the intermediate phase (sessions 17–22) hostility became evident, followed by a break-through and evidence of interest in the problems of others. After this however, the group began to break up. Four participants were regarded as better socialised and seemed to have profitted from the greater than average time spent with them in a group setting, while searching for some measure of mutual understanding. The other two were unchanged.

Kaldeck (1958) reported on group psychotherapy with moderately retarded adolescents and adults in six groups, three male and three female, each with ten to twelve patients. Chronological age ranged from 17 to 40 years with a mean age of 25 years. I.Q. was 50 or above.The program up to the time of reporting had continued for 30 males on a voluntary basis and was continuing. It had helped more than a hundred persons to express their often conflicting feelings, to relieve tension and improve interpersonal relationships. Although the basic approval was dynamically-oriented and permissive, it was found necessary to include in the technique some repressive-inspirational features. The author emphasises that for many moderately retarded the emotional problem may be more of a handicap than the intellectual deficit, and that because of this deficit group therapy is the treatment of choice.

Since indirective group therapy had been reported as generally being unsuccessful, Snyder and Sechrist (1959) carried out an experimental study of directive group therapy with defective delinquents. Sixteen institutionalized chronically delinquent males, ranging in age from 19–22 years, and with I.Q.'s ranging from 50–79 (mean 62) were organised into two groups, for hourly meetings once a week for thirteen weeks. Two further groups i.e. no treatment and placebo administration were used as controls. Results indicated that the therapy group showed superiority to both control groups in institutional adjustment as measured by significantly more positive comments on routine house-reports, and fewer appearances in the behaviour courts for serious violations. This did not mean that there was a drop in

negative reports. The differences in the group was attributed to the directive didactic approach used in the group therapy. The authors concluded that group therapy was a desirable addition to the treatment program.

Peck and Sexton (1961) provided training in social adjustment, self-care, music, arts and crafts, and physical education to three groups of trainable children, each group being in a different setting. Significant progress was noted in all three experimental groups as compared to the control group.

Forty two young adult institutionalised female retardates who were not going on summer vacation were organised into six psychotherapy groups by Gorlow, et al (1963). The mean age was 18.1 years, and mean Intelligence Quotient 67.3. Thirty seven other females, similar in age and I.Q. served as controls. The groups met for one hour three times a week for a period of twelve weeks. A fairly structured, partly directive technique was used to reinforce positive verbalisation on the part of the subjects. In this study, group therapy was not observed to alter self-attitudes in the direction of greater acceptance, nor did it materially influence the institutional behaviour of the subjects. Evidence was gathered which suggested that individuals with extreme pre-test self-attitude scores and lower behaviour ratings may be less motivated to participate in group therapy.

Sternlicht (1964) used a permissive but directive approach in group therapy with delinquent retarded male adolescents in four groups of 8–13 in number. Chronological age of the retardates ranged from 14–18 years, with I.Q.'s ranging from 36 to 68. All had behaviour problems. Weekly one hour meetings were held. "Hand wrestling" was used as a technique to establish an initial relationship, but the report contains no information as to what was the outcome of group psychotherapy.

Fine and Dawson (1964) described a highly successful therapy program for mildly retarded females aged 15–30 years, with behavioral disturbances. A combination of group, individual and milieu therapy, resulting in placement of 52 retardates outside the institution over a period of 2½ years.

Penkratz and Buchan (1965, 1966) and Blackhurst (1966) have reported on the successful use of psychodrama or socio-drama with retarded adolescents.

The value of group discussions with adolescent retarded females is emphasised by Oliver et al (1965), while Dial (1968) has written a report on the use of group work to increase the social skills of retarded females in a vocational rehabilitation program.

Moss (1967) worked with five subnormal adolescents, boys, between the ages of 15–18 years, who had physical handicaps and disturbed behaviour. The boys lived as a family group, and were engaged in work-oriented activities. All the boys improved in behaviour and progressed in their work habits.

Roos (1968) has described an intensive program aimed to modify undesirable behaviour in institutionalised mildly retarded in the 14 to 16 year age range. The specific techniques used included educative procedures, enrichment and modification of the social milieu including summer camping and participation in community activities and counselling and psychotherapy. The group psychotherapeutic approach turned out to be the most appropriate. The program resulted in an increased rate of returning retardates to the community, improvement in social skills, and also catalysed change within the institution.

Discussion

In a review of group psychotherapy experiences with the retarded, Gunzburg (1965) lists the following advantages of the group technique.

* economical of time and energy
* concentrates on the real personal problems of the defective
* makes the retardate aware that he is one of many
* helps to break down isolation and withdrawal
* helps in re-orientation towards immediate environment
* gives the retardate an opportunity to become aware of other people's viewpoints
* gives the retardate an opportunity of feeling instead of only knowing the implications of social approval and disapproval
* gives the retardate an opportunity to relieve situational anxiety caused by confusion.
* is a vehicle to disseminate information, dispel doubts, reassure the insecure and suggest solutions to the hesitant.
* may be a source of "insight" as a result of the concrete examples given.

Whether the group approach be directive, permissive or non-directive, Gunzburg considers the evaluation of results as being very unsatisfactory. This is because of the number of varying factors that exist in many of the groups, the almost complete lack of follow-up studies to indicate whether the results are permanent in nature, and the minimal use of control groups. He notes that the end of therapy coincides with the end of special endeavours to help, thus leading to another "let down" feeling in the subjects. In conclusion, Gunzburg points out that final therapy is administered by the environment in the first place, and by the community afterwards.

The review by Gunzburg presents two sides of the picture. On the one hand, an impressive list of advantages to group psychotherapy for the retarded is presented. On the other hand the record of experiences with this techinque over the past twenty years is a dubious one, in terms of evident success. The weak points in these experiments have been underscored. However, in order to answer the question – can group psychotherapy work in the retarded, and should it therefore be tried? – both the successes and the failures reported in the literature need to be analysed.

1. Most reports indicate **initial success.** Short term projects will often therefore terminate on an optimistic note. Long term projects, especially those that continue for over nine months, often indicate deterioration as the group continues.

Various possibilities may explain this phenomenon.

a) Initial success may not be a product of group psychotherapy at all, but simply the outcome of attention being paid to institutionalised retardates, (either for the first time and on a renewed basis), the novelty effect, the enthusiasm of the therapist, or the opportunity for unacustomed permissiveness.

b) It may be that retardates are incapable of persisting in a prolonged group psychotherapeutic setting. Short term therapy causes an improvement, following which the "law of diminishing returns" sets in.

c) The techniques used may not be capable of maintaining long-term therapy.

d) A combination of these possibilities.

It would seem that perhaps all three possibilities play a part with the problem of suitable technique being paramount.

2. A review of the literature does not clarify what technique would be most suitable, although there are suggestions that "classical" group psychotherapy is not applicable to the retarded. The dependency on verbal expression is an obvious reason. As the subjects show more and more behavioral disturbance, and for these who are in the lower (trainable) category of mental retardation, the opportunity for gaining any success through verbal expression becomes diminished. If the accent were placed on "non-verbal techniques" as described by Middleman (1968) it is possible that the values of group psychotherapy would be seen to better advantage.

3. Developmental change is a slow process, especially for the severely retarded. In order to expect basic changes in behaviour patterns of retardates, the **time** factor must be taken into account as well as the **amount** of therapy given. A reasonable one hour weekly group program would provide 44 hours therapy for a year – taking into account annual vacation, holidays, and illness on the part of the therapist. If the retardates are slow in getting into the group atmosphere from one week to the next, perhaps the effective time that group therapy is actually being provided may be further described by a third to a half. Considering therefore the make-up of the retardate as a "patient" for group psychotherapy, it is more than possible that many programs are providing "homoepathic" doses of group therapy, which therefore cannot be expected to produce significant or long-lasting results.

4. A confusion exists as to the **purpose** of the group therapy. The acquisition of insight into personal problems, as a major expectation in classical group psychotherapy, is a moot possibility when group psychotherapy is provided for the retardate. Even if it be miraculously achieved, it is more than doubtful that a therapeutic advance would ensue. For even with insight, the retardate remains with a cognitive inadequacy, and an inability to handle unexpected critical situations. If group psychotherapy for the retarded is viewed more as a training-field in inter-relationships, in ability to adjust and an opportunity to gain confidence through belonging to a group, and as a class for social learning, then more definable goals can be set, better evaluation can be attempted, and the possibilities of successful treatment may be enhanced.

5. For significant progress to be achieved within a group setting, the need for the group to be a **peer-group** is evident, especially when dealing with adolescents. It is unrealistic therefore to expect success with groups that are heterogenous in terms of age, duration of stay in institution, and level of intelligence. Few therapists expect success when mixing adolescents with adults in general group therapy. It is not likely to be more successful if the subjects are retardates. All of us need peer-group relationships and usually have them. The application of the normalization principle (Nirje 1968) would lead us to adopt the same approach with retardates.

6. Group therapy for the retarded needs to be within a context. Learning to play music for a concert, or a game of skill for a contest, has more meaning both for trainer and trainee then just practicing. Most group therapy programs are aimed to be substitutes for tranquilizing medicines. They may improve behaviour or social skills – but for what purpose? Less damage to property, less need for prescribing drugs, and less "wear and tear" on the attendant staff are admirable purposes, but nevertheless inadequate. If, however, group therapy is regarded as a means towards a definite end, and as a mechanism which allows improved functional status, within or preferably outside the institution, following the therapy, then the direction of the social training provided by a group technique becomes clearer, and "mission impossible" becomes possible. In other words, group therapy programs need to have a **built-in** habilitation philosophy, practice procedure, and possibility.

To sum-up

In order to have a reasonable chance of succeeding, a group therapeutic technique with the retarded needs to pay attention to the following, especially when the retardation is marked.

1. Initial success is no criterion;
2. Non-verbal techniques should be emphasised;
3. The amount of therapy given should be maximilised;
4. Social adjustment should be regarded as the major purpose;
5. Habilitation should be considered as the natural and inevitable outcome.

When these points are kept in mind, then the question of directive or non-directive technique becomes marginal. It would seem that there is no "black-white" answer. One would suspect that a flexible technique which is permissive under certain circumstances, and directive in other instances would have a better chance of success, than a rigid approach in one direction or another.

Although this review of the literature is not inclusive, it will have served its purpose if it has provided the background to group therapy with the retarded, and high-lighted some of the difficulties and challenges that are to be found.

Against this background, the specific research project in Israel can now be reviewed.

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Chapter Three

THE USE OF A GROUP TECHNIQUE WITH THE RETARDED

* Background – Services for the retarded in Israel.
  – Kfar Nachman Institution.
* The purpose of the project.
* The trainees – family background.
  – the four groups.
* Initial approach.
* Methodology.
* Progress Reports on the four groups.
* Summing-up.
* References.

Services for the retarded in Israel

Although there have been institutions for the retarded for some years in Israel, the Service for the Retarded was established only in 1962 as a department in the Ministry of Welfare (Director – M. Rosenberg). The expansion of the Service can be noted in the following table. (Table 1)

Table 1. – Mental retardation services in Israel

	1962		1967	
Institution beds				
Government	695		1,112	
Private & foster homes	496		1,410	
Home care (families)	60		150	
Day centres/schools	250	students	900	students
	20	centres	50	centres
	22	classes	88	classes
Occupational centres	50	trainees	500	trainees
	2	centres	20	centres
Budget (Israeli pounds)	2.8	million	8.2	million
Registered applications	400		1,500	

It was noted (Rosenberg, 1967) that while the budget for the Ministry of Social Welfare as a whole had increased three-fold from 1962 to 1967, the budget of the Service of the retarded showed a nine-fold increase. Three assessment centres in Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv have been set up, aimed to evaluate about 650 cases a year, as well as some special nursery schools and occupational centres.

The ideal institution aimed for was one with a 400 bed capacity, with a ratio of 12 residents to an instructor, and run by a team comprising doctor, psychologist, educationalist and social worker.

The waiting list for admission to institutions (8 government and public, and 18 private) as controlled by the Service for the Retarded, stood at 800 in 1967. The range of services in these institutions ranged from unsatisfactory to satisfactory, with rehabilitation programmes being somewhat limited (Chigier 1969).

The Israeli Association for the Rehabilitation of the Mentally Handicapped (AKIM), is a parents' group which has been functioning for a number of years and has become especially active in the last decade. AKIM has 8 branches in the country, and at all of them provides counselling for parents by social workers. Other services provided directly by AKIM include 6 sheltered workshops, 2 nursery classes, and summer camps for the retarded, as well as regular publication of material (Chigier 1968).

Under these circumstances, it should be noted that pressure on admission to institutions was great and tended to increase. With a long-waiting list it transpires that cases that were more critical in nature, because of family disorganisation, or because of aberrant behaviour of the retardate, tended to "jump the line" for admission. The population of retardates in institutions tended therefore towards being selective, with a higher concentration of severe and problematic cases. Also there was little likelihood of finding rehabilitation solutions to resident retardates through treatment and discharge from the institution. It is against this background that the present project should be reviewed.

The Kfar Nachman Institution for the Mentally Retarded

Kfar Nachman is situated outside Raanana, about 25 kilometers from Tel-Aviv. It has been set up as a work colony for male retardates aged 17 years or more. The criterion for admission is a level of intelligence and physical state which will permit trainees to work. During the three year period of the research project, priority for admission is being given to retardates under the age of 25 years.

The institution was opened on November 15, 1964, with 46 trainees who were transferred from the government institution 'Givat Shemesh'. It was initially set up with funds willed by a Dutch Jew, which permitted the erection of a central building that includes kitchen, dining room, offices, synagogue, and service rooms. Following this, a public trust was established for the purpose of collecting further endowments and donations towards the erection of buildings at the institution.

The institution is under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Welfare (Service for the Mentally Retarded). The master plan envisages an institution for 250 trainees (resident in six dormitories) with fully equipped work-shops, swimming pool, etc. At the start of the project 85 retardates were resident at the institution. The staff of the institution consisted of director (Mr. M. Bedichi), 7 instructors, nurse, house-mother, and 7 general workers.

The trainees were engaged in agricultural work, unskilled assembly work, carpentry and weaving. A number of retardates (about 16) often worked outside the institution in agricultural and laundry work, but not under direct supervision, and with no definite rehabilitation programme.

The Population of the Institution

At the time of onset of the project, the number of residents at the institution was 85. A breakdown of the first 80 residents accepted showed the following features.

1. **Age:**

over 40 years	4
30 – 40 years	25
25 – 29 years	14
20 – 24 years	23
15 – 19 years	13
Not clear	1
Total	80

2. **Associated Disability**

Epilepsy	8
Mongolism	10
Cerebral palsy	8
(Asthma	1)
Total	26

Candidates for Participation

As the policy of the project was to work as far as possible with adolescents and young adults, this left 36 residents under 25 years as candidates for participation in the project. These had the following features:

a. **Associated disability:**

Cerebral palsy	3
Mongolism	3
Epilepsy	3
Total	9

b. **Length of stay in institutions:**

Less than one year	6	Seven years	3
One year	5	Eight years	4
Two years	2	Nine years	1
Three years	2	Ten years	3
Four years	2	Fourteen years	1
Five years	3	Sixteen years	1
Six years	3	Total	36

C. Intelligence Quotient:

Less than 30	2
30 – 40	17
41 – 50	8
51 – 60	2
61 – 70	2
Not known	5
Total	36

It was noted that candidates who were suitable for inclusion in the study by virtue of being under the age of 25 years, had amongst them a high proportion of people with associated disability (25%), long institution stay i.e. 5 years or more (53%), and IQ's below 40)53%). It became clear that the project would be tackling many retardates with a very low rehabilitation potential and hence the effort would be particularly challenging.

The Purpose of the Projects:

This project was concerned with the severely retarded adolescents and young adults living in an institution – i.e. somebody who has a chronological age of 17–22 years, and a mental age of six years or less. Quite often, he has an associated handicap. In some cases he may have lived with his family until puberty, while in other cases the stay in institutions has been from childhood onwards.

There are thousands of these severely retarded adolescents in institutions all over the world. Few are expected to leave the institutions. Nearly all are expected to remain at the institution for a period of life which is much longer now than was the case twenty-five years ago. The basic question is – what is one to do with these people? Is the institution to be a place of custody for them – at worst a prison, at best a convalescent home – or can the institution provide a meaningful existence for those destined to spend their lives there?

This is not merely a matter of ideology, a search for "a good life" for those incapable of creating one for themselves. The aspiration is not towards Nirvanah, but towards opportunity and productivity, towards finding a way to enrich physically and emotionally the many hours, months and years of both inmates and workers at a permanent-stay institution.

As everybody familiar with the population of institutions for the retarded knows, the problems extends beyond the factor of the limited intellectual capacity of the trainee. In working with adolescent retardates one has to take into account the presence of nearly all of the following factors.

1. Limited intellectual capacity.
2. Very limited life experience.
3. Low physical condition, often as a result of limited opportunity.

4. Poor motor co-ordination.
5. Associated physical disability.
6. Lack of motivation.
7. Inability to get on with others.
8. Poor concentration.
9. Very low self-esteem.
10. Emotional instability.
11. Lack of identity – no sense of belonging.

When we began we searched for the key which would open the door to productive living for retardates residing in a long-stay institution, hemmed in by so many limiting factors. It was our feeling that it all depends on **motivation**. What could we find in institution living to motivate a severely retarded adolescent to expend energy and to work productively? Basic requirements such as food, clothing and general care are provided anyway. Receiving cash for work done has little application and meaning in an institution. It may be easy to praise good work, but it is difficult to criticise poor work done in an institution – so that praise as compared to criticism is not prominent, and does not usually act as an incentive. Finishing a job is an incentive. But if the job is a complicated one, the severely retarded person cannot grasp the overall significance of creation and fulfillment, while the simple job is repetitive and does not provoke much incentive. To work in order not to be bored is a compulsion, possibly neurotic, of those equipped with an intellect, but it is a doubtful incentive for the severely retarded basking lazily in the sun.

We found one incentive to work – the incentive to work in order to belong. The severely retarded person has never belonged anywhere. In his own family he is usually "out of step", with little sense of belonging, especially when he lives in an institution. In the institution, he also does not really belong. He has little identification with the institution. He does not believe that the institution is something to work for. I have met few retardates who are proud to state that they live in this or that institution.

A small group within the institution can act as a framework for belonging. If the group is a work group, then those who work belong, and those who work better have a better membership status within the group. Work then, becomes a passport to a land of opportunity, a place where things are going on about which one can be proud, a set-up one can identify with, a medium that provides satisfaction and strength. That medium is the group.

What was done therefore was to apply the principles of group dynamics to severely retarded adolescents. (Chigier 1968)

The Trainees

a) Family Background

Home visits and interviews with the parents on at least one occasion were carried out for 35 families. These families lived all over the country, since there was no regional planning of admissions. They often had difficulties in visiting their son in the institution because of the travelling distance and because of difficulties of transportation to the institution which was a few miles outside thw town of Raanana. Visits once a fortnight were customary, and residents went on vacation to their parents' home twice a year, during the spring and autumn religious holiday periods. The basic features of these families were as follows:

1. **Socio-economic level** was considered low in 25 percent and good in 9 percent.

2. **Educational level** of parents was considered as high (high school level) in 29 percent and now (less than four years schooling) in 14 percent.

3. In 43 percent the interviewer felt that the parents had a **positive attitude to their** sons in the institution, and 33 percent indicated that they would like to be able to have their son staying at home again. Half the mothers visited their son frequently in the institution as compared to one-seventh of the fathers.

4. A low level of interest in the purpose of the project was noted in 14 percent.

5. Many of the families had other problems, e.g. another retardate in the family (14%), death of a parent (17%), mental illness in the family (11%), divorce of separation (9%). Only one third of the families could be considered as not having basic problems.

b) The four groups

Altogether the project dealt with four groups of trainees – with approximately ten members in each group. Group One was the pilot group. Following the successful consolidation and progress of the first group, two more groups were set up in Kfar Nachman on the same principle of a group instructor working eight hours a day with his group. Group Three was distinguished by being comprised of retardates who were all new admissions to the institution.

The last group (Group Four) differed from the other groups in that it comprised trainees who were living at home with their parents, and who were attending the Gil-Tushiya Sheltered Workshop run by AKIM and the Tel-Aviv Municipality in Tel-Aviv. Members of the group were chosen by Mrs. Bila Bar Amotz, director of the workshop. This group was organised on the same basis as the other three groups, with a physical education programme at the Spevack Sports Club for the Handicapped, Ramat Gan, and the site of work being the the nursery at the National Park in Ramat Gan (about 6 miles from Tel-Aviv). Trainees were considered as an outside group of the sheltered workshop, and continued to benefit from the services and the recreational facilities at the workshop.

Table 2. – Composition of four groups in research project.

	GROUPS			
	One	**Two**	**Three**	**Four**
Site	Kfar Nachman	Kfar Nachman	Kfar Nachman	Tel Aviv area
Work site	Rishpon	Givat, etc.	Rishpon private grove	National Park Ramat Gan
Date of onset	May 1966	October 1966	July 1967	October 1067
Duration (months)	32	27	18	15
Size of group	11	11	10	8
Range of chronological age (years)	15 – 30	16 – 26	17 – 27	15 – 21
Mean chronological age (years)	22	20	20	18
Range of mental age* (years)	3 – 8	3 – 8	3 – 7	5 – 8
Mean Mental age* (years)	5	5.4	5.8	6
Associated disability				
– Down's Syndrome	3	2	–	3
– Cerebral Palsy	2	1	2	–
– Epilepsy	1	1	–	–
– Others	–	–	Post-polio	–
Total:	6	4	3	3

* Stanford-Binet Test.

As can be noted in Table 2 all groups were fairly similar in composition, containing male retardates ranging in chronological age from 15 to 30 years, and in mental age from 3 to almost 8 years. Mean mental age in Groups One (5, 1) and Two (5, 4) were slightly lower than in Group Three (5, 8) and Group Four (6.). All groups contained retardates with associated handicaps such as Down's Syndrome (mongolism), cerebral palsy, epilepsy and others.

Details of each retardate can be found in the Appendix. A full description of the start, progress and achievements of each group is provided in the "Round Table Discussion".

Initial Approach

In the light of the population set-up at Kfar Nachman it was obvious that the approach of the research team to the problem of rehabilitation of young retardates in the institution would have to take into account the following facts.

1. The institution is a new one, not known in the community, still in the stages of development and expansion, and with very limited local facilities for training towards agricultural work.

2. The research team members are not part of the existing set-up but "would come in from the outside".

3. The institution population was not selected for the research project. The project would have to deal with the realities of the situation and choose candidates out of those at present residing at Kfar Nachman.

The following approach was adopted.

a. The basic unit for rehabilitation (i.e. technical and social learning and overcoming of emotional problems) would be the group. The group medium would be used to provide a sense of belonging, which those retardates have never had before – neither at home nor outside the home.

Techniques as used with adolescents for group work or in youth movements would be applied to these retardates, but modified to suit their extremely limited functional abilities. The group would act as a spring-board towards rehabilitation by acting as a focus for learning, a refuge during distress, and an instrument to eventually permit the members of the group to work productively outside the institution if at all possible.

b. The policy would therefore be the setting up of groups of 10–11 members. One group would be set up as a pilot group, for six months, following which further groups would be gradually set up.

c. Members of the groups would not be chosen by the research staff, but by the director of the institution so as to represent a cross-section of the institution's population who could walk, and were fairly young (25 years or so).

	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR
Date of onset	1.5.1961	1.10.1966	1.7.1967	1.10.1967
Duration (months)	32	27	18	14
No. of participants	11	10	10	8
Chronological age = range (years)	15–30	16–24	17–27	15–21
= mean (years)	22	20	20	18
Mental age = range (years)	3 – 7,10	3,9 – 5,9	3 – 7	5 – 8
= mean (years)	5,1	4,5	6	6
Physical handicaps:				
Mongolism	3	1	0	3
Cerebral Palsy	2	2	2	–
Epilepsy	1	1	0	0
Others	Asthma	Psychosis	Congenital Cardiac	Visual impairment
Site	Kfar Nachman	Kfar Nachman	Kfar Nachman	Metropolitan area Tel Aviv
Site of work	Rishpon	Herzliya, Givat, Rishpon	Private groves, Rishpon	National Park Ramat Gan
Special Features	Pilot group. Most veteran.	–	All new admissions to the institutions	Physical education at Spewack Club. All lived at home with their parents.

THE NATURE OF THE FOUR GROUPS IN THE PROJECT

d. Groups would be heterogenous, i.e. consisting of those with high as well as those with low potential. This was done in an effort to mobilise the more successful retardates into helping the less successful through the group medium.

e. Each group would have a **group instructor,** who is a member of the research team, who would work with the members of the group, during working hours, both in agricultural atraining and social instruction.

f. In order to prevent a separatist set-up within the institution, over-emphasis on group activities and publicity would be avoided.

g. Physical education would be also used as a means to promote both individual and group progress.

h. All candidates for participation in the group programme were medically examined. Psychological testing included the following tests: Stanford-Binet, Leiter, Bender-Gestalt. Draw-a-person. The social worker made a home visit to the family.

Methodology

Stage One: Working towards group consolidation.

Each group had a group instructor, who has had experience in agriculture and in working with youth groups, but has not worked with retardates before. After orientation through personal discussions, meetings with the psychologist who tested the trainee, and the social worker who had visited the family, the instructor began with the job of creating a group spirit. This is easier said than done. The instructor worked only on this from 8.30 a.m. to 3 p.m. He did not handle any custodial aspects such as washing, eating or night supervision. For three to four months he took his group for walks, provided games, activities, and talks; exploiting anything and any situation in order to create a group unity. In **group one** the instructor used a 'buddy approach'. Each trainee had a partner, with whom he worked and shared a reciprocal responsibility. After grasping the idea of co-operation in pairs,it was easier, for the trainee to understand the concept of a group. In **group two** the emphasis was on concrete examples. These included lifting a heavy stone individually and then together, breaking individual sticks and then trying to break a bundle of sticks. These and other examples were used in order to demonstrate that the group gives strength to its members.

An intensive physical education program was woven into the group program. Each group spent two full mornings (i.e. 8 hours) a week in physical education which was carried out by an instructor experienced in the use of physical training in rehabilitation. The aim of the physical education program was basically two-fold. a) to increase physical fitness, motor co-ordination, self-confidence. b) to promote the group spirit through co-operative exercises and games. Both aims were achieved, using all forms of equipment, including table tennis. It was an unusual experience to watch table tennis played by trainees who play as long as they feel like it, since they are unable to score! The successful work of the physical education instructor re-inforced the work of the group instructor, and strengthened group activity and motivation.

Stage Two: Working on a group project.

After a few months, the instructor began a project in the grounds of the institution with the group. This could be the setting-up of a new vegetable garden, or basket-ball field, or organising a rockery – something which was a project of the group, in which all could participate, something which was tangible and could be seen to reach a goal.

Stage Three: Working outside the institution.

The **third step** was work outside the institution in an orange grove or vegetable garden under sheltered conditions, as a 'pilot' venture. The group learnt about travelling to a certain location and about division of work, the variations in activities, types of work, and tools that are used. The trainees might learn without necessarilly receiving payment.

Stage Four: The establishment of a work group.

The final step is the creation of a work-group. The group at this stage works productively. Payment is on a piece-work basis, for the group as a whole.

By the first year of the project, both groups were engaged in work in the citrus groves in the vicinity. The work included weeding, hoeing, pruning, and fruit picking. As a group, trainees in the first group reached almost 40% of the productivity of trained agricultural workers, and were paid accordingly. As a group, trainees managed to walk two miles to work, allocate the work amongst themselves, worked without the continued presence of the instructor, and were capable of co-ordinating the efforts of the less capable with those of the more capable. No problems arose in their relations with other workers or foremen. The group gained acceptance and recognition as a productive unit.

Progress

Progress Reports on Group One

a) The Group at its inception (May, 1966).

1. **Social behaviour:** The group concept did not exist at all. Inter-personal relationships if present were co-incidental. The idea of having something in common could simply not be grasped, and there was a complete lack of communication. This led to difficulties in getting the group to work together or to participate in social activities, while disciplinary problems were severe or frequent. A gradual approach was adopted and as a first step, members were paired, i.e. each member had a 'buddy'. Having a 'buddy' permitted concretisation of the idea of inter-relationship, and the early development of socialisation.

2. **Work:** Most of the members had up to now not done any agricultural work, and were completely lacking in awareness of the importance of work and the functions of tools. Due to lack of

social adjustment, many were unwilling or hesitant to participate in any form of physical activity. Continuity, concentration and productivity in work were totally absent.

3. **Distorted notions**: Realistic knowledge of the environment was generally poor (e.g. water comes from taps) as also values such as money and what it can buy.

b. The Group four months later (September, 1966).

1. **Social Behaviour**: General communication was still defective. There was not as yet a clear understanding of the ability and opportunities that existed in a group. The pair relationship (buddy) had however developed by now very strongly. Alertness was present during talks and social activities, and apart from one or two cases there was no absenteeism. Reciprocal help, apart from helping one's partner, was still not developed. Disciplining problems existed, but were dwindling as the framework became tighter.

2. **Work**: The tempo was still slow, but there was much more willingness to work and a gratifying improvement in continuity and persistence. Working in pairs had led to more productivity. There was less 'getting out of work', and less need for the instructor to watch trainees in order to prevent this, although some of the youths were 'chronic' non-workers. Some experience in agricultural work had been acquired. The members were eager to work outside the institution.

3. **Training in Basic Skills**: In October 1966 the group was given an opportunity to work in the orange-grove of Mr. Tamari in the neighbouring Moshav (Co-operative village) of Rishpon. This proved to be a valuable work laboratory. Trainees were taught the value of good care of the trees, proper use of tools, the avoidance of early picking; and acquired a feeling of responsibility for the care of the trees. In gradual stages they were taught – and succeeded in learning – how to use implements for rough work, and then moved on to the finer and more responsible task of pruning. Twice a week, and later three times a week, the group worked in the groves. Of the seven who reached the stage of pruning, four reached the standards (although not the productivity) of a trained agricultural worker.

c. December 1966.

After over two months work in the grove, the instructor began to encourage group initiative and responsibility, by permitting them to work on their own, without direct supervision. This too was successful to the extent that the group became capable of walking 3 kilometers to work, allocating the various tasks of pruning, hoeing, weeding, raking and tidying up amongst the members; having lunch at noon in the field and returning together on foot, to the institution. In the absence of the instructor, productivity increased by 20 percent or more! Individual self-confidence increased, group goals were clearly defined, and despite the varying standards of group members, it was felt that the group was sufficiently well-knit to continue working on a more organised basis. It was proposed that the group receive employment **as a group** in orange picking.

d) February 1967

The carrying out of this objective was delayed for a month, because of three reasons.

1. There was a delay in reaching a satisfactory work arrangement with the moshav of Rishpon.
2. Prolonged rainy weather prevented orange-picking.
3. The group instructor was away for one month on reserve military service.

The members did some tasks around the institution buildings, but it was clear that the group had regressed. The group spirit was diminished, and old animosities between group members were renewed. Two trainees began bed-wetting again, one trainee became as agressive as before, one became withdrawn and very disturbed, while another went back to telling 'fantastic lies'. Although unintentioned, this period of 'interruption' taught us two things.

1. That the group structure which had been built over a period of nine months, was nonetheless a flimsy structure.
2. That the use of group techniques had a definite therapeutic effect, which was even more noticeable when this effect was withdrawn.

e) March and April 1967.

When all the obstacles were removed, and the group began working in orange picking under the supervision of the group instructor, the regressive features disappeared. The concrete work of picking and piling up oranges, in the proximity of other workers, under conditions of pay for piece-work, restored the group to its previous level of solidarity – and allowed for further progress. The standard of work of the group, as a group, was found to be acceptable, and productivity reached 30–40 percent that of trained regular citrus workers. Plans are under way to provide for further employment for the group, when the orange picking season is over.

f) Physical Education

Gradual progress is evident in exercise performance and the standard of physical fitness has risen. In the period under review, emphasis had been placed on group games or tasks such as 'tug of war' and relay races. For the first time one could see who was playing against whom in football (soccer). The trainees became aware that apart from trying to get the ball into the opponent's goal, there is also a need for defense. Remarks such as 'pass me the ball' or 'stop him' were heard for the first time. This stage was reached by playing first in couples and then in threes. Apart from two non-participants the group showed interest and progress. At this stage the physical education program began to gradually phase out.

g) May to December 1967

Group one, has consolidated its position in the co-operative village of Rishpon. One day a week was devoted to social organisation (Friday) and one day a week to physical education with an emphasis on ball-games. Four other days of the week, the group spent on various agricultural tasks in Rishpon. Payment for work was received on a piece-work basis; and the money was devided into three parts.

i. 50% was paid to the institution.
ii. 25% was paid to the group fund which was used for purchasing items for the group.
iii. 25% was for individual pocket money.

For the second year in succession, this group was engaged in orange picking. Only one member was regarded as non-productive. Since the group was now established as a work group, more and more attention was being paid to the 'economics' of running such a group.

Progress of Group Two

Group Two with its own group instructor was set up on 1.10.1966. It consisted of 11 members, also chosen by the institution director to represent a cross-section of the population at Kfar Nachman. It is to be noted from Table 2 that average mental age is even lower than that of Group one, and that there is an equally high proportion of trainees with associated handicaps. For the first three months the going was hard, both in group work and physical education. Following this, however, progress was dramatic because of two factors.

1. One member (M. Sab) who was continually causing a disturbance was 'voted out' of the group, and eventually had to be hospitalised because of his psychotic behaviour. With his departure the group became consolidated.

2. The Group was provided with work overalls, tools and a large plot in the institution grounds for the establishment of a vegetable garden. Carrying through the work in all its phases, i.e. laying on water pipes, cleaning, weeding, terracing, fertilising and planting seeds in their own clearly defined area, resulted in the transformation of the group into a well-knit working group.

February, 1967

It was felt that this group was now able to work outside the institution. A second neighbouring settlement was contacted with regard to this possibility.

Physical Education

With the general improvement of the group in work and solidarity, progres in physical education was also noted to a marked extent. Apart from two members, the progress in exercise performance and use of equipment was satisfactory. Performance in table-tennis was lower than in Group One.

The group had a high morale, as evidenced by spontaneous singing during the physical education session.

More complicated exercises have been added and are being carried out satisfactorily. These include free movement, relaxation and breathing exercises.

May to December, 1967

This group functioning since October 1966 was by now very well consolidated, and had a similar pattern of activities as Group One. The group worked in a co-operative village called Givat, which was smaller than Rishpon and further away from the institution. The group began to receive payment for work with the onset of the citrus picking season (January 1968), and up to now had received two cash grants for agricultural work carried out. Since the village was small, the problem was to find work all year round. At present, it was expected that the group would work for the next six months on a piece-work basis.

Group Three

This group was set up in July 1967. Iy consisted of 10 members. Mean chronological age was 20 years with a range from 17 to 27 years. The mean mental age was 6 years with a range from 3 to 7 years. Three members of the group had an associated physical handicap. The special characteristic of this group was that its members were all new residents at the institution. The process involved here was adaptation from a home environment (good or bad) to that of a group within an institution. A special effort was being made to explore the nature of the creation of a group identity through detailed notes on absenteeism, late arrival to group activities, disciplinary problems, use of the 'we concept' and socio-grams. In practical terms this group reached the stage of consolidation much more rapidly than the previous groups. Two mornings a week were spent on physical education, one on social organisation, and three days a week on work activities. The group had worked in agriculture outside the institution, as an associate group to the veteran groups, and were ripe for work on its own on a piece work basis.

Attempts were being made to find a suitable work outlet for this group in a third agricultural community or setting, as close as possible to the institution.

Group Four

This group was set up in October 1967. It differed from the other groups in that all its members lived at home in the urban greater Tel Aviv area; and attended the 'GIL' sheltered workshop of Akim in Tel Aviv. Eight trainees who were regarded as suitable for agricultural training had been chosen and evaluated. The mean chronological age was 18 years with a range from 15 to 21 years. The mean mental age was 6 years with a range from 5 to 8 years. Four of the members had an associated physical impairment; i.e. mongolism (3) and visual impairment (1).

The following are the special characteristics of the work of this group.

1. Physical education was carried out twice a week at the Spewack Club for the Handicapped, Ramat Gan, and included basket ball and swimming in a heated pool. Remarkable progress was made.

2. The group had a 'den' of its own, which was decorated by the group itself, and was situated close to the sheltered workshop.

3. Visits to homes were made before the group was established. It was planned to hold a monthly parent group meeting, so as to have maximum parental participation and co-operation with the project.

4. After the first month of social organisation, this group began to work at the tree nursery of the National Park in Ramat Gan, on a training basis.

5. It is aimed to train the members of this group to work as gardeners in municipal parks, while continuing to live with their parents, at home in the city. If this succeeds it would open up a new avenue for the rehabilitation of severely mentally handicapped adolescents in Israel.

The Final Period of the Project:

December 1967 to November 1968

During the period of this report a routine had been established and all four groups had been working steadily, except for very short periods, where no work was available. The three groups from Kfar Nachman had been accepted as work groups in the Rishpon area, while the fourth (urban group) by now comprised almost all the manpower of the nursery in the National Park in Ramat Gan.

All groups were capable of arriving at the place of work, carrying on their work and returning home, without the necessity for day-to-day supervision by the instructors. The most veteran group,

established in May 1966 had three trainees who were capable of independent work and we were trying to make arrangements for individual contracts for them with local farmers. Nearly all groups had decreased by one or two members in order to reach maximal productivity. Arrangements had been made for all three groups to be actively working throughout the coming orange picking season.

Negotiations had commenced for the retention of one instructor to supervise a large amalgamated group of about 16–18 trainees who would continue to work when the project ceased. This instructor would be employed by the institution, and would be responsible for follow-up work for the research project for the coming 12 months. All other instructors would cease working with their groups on 31.12.68. Negotiations had also begun with the Ramat Gan Municipality for the continued work of the urban group in the National Park Nursery on a piece-work basis with moderate supervision from the 'Gil' sheltered workshop of Akim.

Thus, we hoped that the success achieved by these groups would permit those of their members who were capable of doing so, to continue working in the community, on the lines evolved by the research project.

Summing Up

The active policy of the project was tested by first setting up a pilot group. With the success achieved by this group and with the experience gained, two further groups were set up in Kfar Nachman and one group in the Tel-Aviv area. All groups were based on similar principles, followed similar courses, went through similar stages of group consolidation, group projects, outside work, and work-group establishment.

Despite variability in composition of the group, the personalities of the group instructors and the settings of the group, all groups were successful and showed impressive results, succeeding in becoming established work-groups. Nearly all members of the group, as compared to themselves, made definite progress and in a number of cases, showed dramatic changes in behaviour. All groups showed a steady increase of productivity, over time. With all four groups friction, conflicts or misunderstandings with employers or other workers was minimal.

It is felt that as a demonstration project the point has been proved. In principle, severely retarded individuals can benefit from a group experience. In practice, the utilisation of a group approach has permitted the severely retarded person to find an active, fulfilled life as a productive worker in the community.

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Chapter Four

THE GROWTH OF THE GROUP CONCEPT AMONGST THE RETARDED

* Introduction
* Participant Behaviour
* Social memory
* Popularity
* The "we" concept
* Summary

Introduction

When the project began with the establishment of the first group, we had little experience on how to establish a group successfully, nor could we rely on reports in the literature. Our approach was therefore exploratory, and through trial and error progress was made. The empiric conclusion reached was that after a period of three months success had been achieved in creating a group, which could function as a group, and had a group identity.

With the second group, we tried to see whether this period of three months was valid, and whether the members of the group could work towards a common goal before the end of three months. After one month's existence, members of the group were given simple work to do in a neighbouring orange-grove. It became clear that they were not ready for this yet. Instead of working together they showed erratic and distractible behaviour, and productivity was so low that the experiment was abandoned after a few days.

During the planning of the third group, it was decided to utilize the opportunity to attempt to find out a little about how a group of retardates such as these, beomes consolidated as a group, and how the group concept comes about, through the activities and contacts for eight hours a day between members. Members of this group were considered suitable for investigation because they were all new admissions to the institution, and therefore did not have an opportunity to know each other beforehand. Secondly, since nearly all of them were admitted to the institution from the homes of their parents, there was no possibility of the "institution syndrome" acting as a barrier to inter-personal relationship and to group identity functions and formation.

It was obviously impossible to test or follow up these retardates with projective tests, so that it was necessary to use very simple techniques.

The following were used:

1. **Level of participant behaviour** – i.e.: absenteeism, coming late to the group activity, disciplinary problems, leaving the group before the end of the activity.

2. **Social memory** – remembering or being remembered by other members of the group.

3. **Growth of the "we" concept.**

In addition, an attempt was made to investigate popularity patterns and the effect of appointing a member of the group as the head of the group for a week, on a rotating basis.

It is to be emphasised that these findings are purely exploratory. Our attempts to study group dynamics amongst the severely retarded were carried out in order to gain some understanding of the problem and in order to provide some guidelines for a more sophisticated study of the question.

However, since it is felt that our findings, tentative as they are, may be of interest and possible benefit, we have decided to present them despite their obvious limitations.

Participant behaviour

The group instructor kept a record of absenteeism, late arrival, infringement of discipline and departure from the group before the end of the session, each morning and afternoon, for each member of the group, over a period of twenty three weeks. Using a weekly total, it was hypothesised that the weekly total of items of negative participant behaviour would be higher at the beginning and would decrease steadily with the progress of the group towards consolidation. The findings, as shown in Table 3, did not bear out this hypothesis for any of the four areas of negative behaviour. The age of the group did not have any correlation with the four variables. It would seem that other factors like climate, individual moods, behaviour of group instructor, etc. are reflected in these infringements. It was also found that re-assembly of the group on Sunday morning, after the Sabbath week-end, did not manifest itself in any behaviour problems of the kind that we were investigating. Individual scores did not show particular patterns. We are at a loss to explain why in the twenty-third week there should be a total of **nine** infringements, or why there were fifteen cases of late arrival in the seventeenth week. It would seem that chance matters such as the arrival of a group of visitors may easily cause a swing in behaviour patterns.

What is important, however, is that starting a group in the way that we did, does not necessarily mean that there should be a difficult initial period. If the group begins with social activities, it is more than likely that the severely retarded will react positively. However, as more and more demands were put on them by the group instructor or other members, certain "ups and downs" can be anticipated and these can be dealt with effectively in most cases.

It is also to be noted that there were surprisingly few cases of disciplinary infringements, which may not hold true for all groups, and may also depend on the tolerance threshold of the group instructor.

Table 3. – Number of Infringements over 4 week periods

Period	Absences	Late arrival	Departure	Disciplinary infringement	Total
1 – 4 weeks	9	17	2	1	29
5 – 8 weeks	5	15	1	0	21
9 – 12 weeks	2	9	3	0	14
13 – 16 weeks	4	10	0	0	14
17 – 20 weeks	2	27	0	3	32

[Absence – non-attendance, with no medical reason.
Late arrival – arriving ten minutes or later after start of session.
Departure – leaving without permission before session has ended.
Disciplinary infringement – refusal to carry out instructions, aggressive behaviour.]

Social Memory

1. Definition

This term was used to denote the ability of a retardate to remember the names (first names) of the other members of the group.

2. Method

Once a week the group instructor interviewed each retardate separately and asked him to recite the names of the other members of the group. The order of names presented was noted, as well as the names of non-members that were mentioned. Each retardate was also asked to say who does he like in the group and who does he dislike in the group, and the reasons for his choice. The procedure was carried out for 28 weeks. It is to be borne in mind that the members were together in the group for an average of forty six hours a week, and for the first three months spent all their time together in social activities or in physical education. During the first two weeks there were only eight members in the group, but from the third week on there was a full complement of ten members, with occasional absences due to illness or home leave. After the 24th week, one member of the group (Gabi) left. Average group scores for the week were based on the total number of names of members recalled, divided by the number of testees interviewed that week.

3. Findings

The average group scores are depicted in the diagram. The score rises "from an average of 2.33 the first week to 3.89 the second week, 4.9 the third week and 6.0 in the fourth week. After the fourth week a plateau is reached and the average score ranges from a low of 5.4 to a high of 6.6, until the end of the period of testing. Two points are to be noted.

a. It takes 4 weeks at least for group members to become sufficiently aware of the existence of each other so as to reach an average situation of remembering the names of two thirds of the participants.

It would seem that only **until** four weeks of daily interactivity relationships have gone on, does the concept of a group become "nascent".

b. The second point is that after this peak has been reached, no further improvement is noted, despite the continued inter-relationship, so that even after twenty eight weeks together, the average score is still only 6.1.

4. Distribution of individual memory scores

These can be noted in Table 4 which deals with the scores on the fourth, eleventh and nineteenth weeks. Scores were classified as "high" (8–9); "average" (6–7) and "low" (3–5). The static pattern that emerges can be seen in the table, with little change taking place over the period of testing.

Individual patterns are presented in Table 5. The group is very heterogenous, with six kinds of patterns noted amongst the ten members. Six members have a consistent pattern whether this be low, average or high, while four members show inconsistency, i.e. proving or deteriorating in their ability to recall names or going up and down in an erratic manner. Social memory for the severe retardate seems to be an individual trait.

Table 4. – Scores on Social Memory

	No. of members		
Social memory score	**4th week**	**11th week**	**19th week**
High (8–9)	1	2	1
Average (6–7)	7	3	6
Low (2–5)	2	5	3
Total:	10	10	10

Table 5. – Individual patterns of Social Memory

Consistent	–	low – Moti	1
		average – Alon, Milo, Shlomo, Oved	4
		high – Yosi	1
Inconsistent	–	improving – Mordechai	1
		deteriorating – Machluff, Gabi	2
		erratic – Zvi	1

4. Relationship to Intelligence Level

Table 6 shows the ranking order for the members of the group for the variables –

a) intelligence level – as measured by the Stanford-Binet

b) social memory score – the average number of members remembered by the trainee for the 4th, 11th and 19th week

c) and for "Social remembrance" – i.e. the average number of group members for the 4th, 11th and 19th week who remember the name of the trainee.

The following findings are to be noted:–

i. In comparing intelligence level ranking order and social memory ranking order, the discrepancy can be considered as significant in three cases out of ten.
   – Mordechai ranks 2nd in intelligence level and 7th on social memory.
   – Zvi ranks 5th in intelligence level and 2nd on social memory
   – Shlomo ranks 9th in intelligence level and 3rd on social memory.

ii In comparing intelligence level ranking order and ranking order for being remembered by others, the discrepancy can be considered as significant in five cases out of ten.
   – Yosi ranks 1st in intelligence level & 4th in being remembered
   – Zwi ranks 5th in intelligence level & 1st in being remembered
   – Milo ranks 6th in intelligence level & 9th in being remembered
   – Moti ranks 9th in inteiligence level & 5th in being remembered
   – Gabi ranks 10th in intelligence level & 5th in being remembered.

   It should be noted that two members had gross physical disabilities – spastic paraplegia (Zwi), and athetosis (Shlomo) which should have helped other members of the group to remember them. This may explain why Zwi was remembered most by other members of the group. Shlomo however with gross athetosis ranks ninth on being remembered by the group.

Conclusion

Our conclusion was that with the group setting amongst the retarded that we were dealing with, level of intelligence does not seem to be related to social memory to a significant extent, nor does it correlate with being remembered by others. It would seem that these factors of social memory and remembrance are linked with personality variables, rather than with intelligence level.

Table 6. – Ranking order for members of group on I.Q., Social Memory and Social Remembrance

Name	I.Q.	Rank Orders Social Memory	Social Remembrance
Yosi	1	1	4
Mordechai	2	7	3
Oved	3	3	2
Alon	3	3	2
Zwi	5	2	1
Machluf	6	8	5
Milo	6	6	9
Moti	8	10	5
Shlomo	9	3	9
Gabi	10	9	5

5. Mention of non-members

The awareness of the existence of a group as an entity is dependent upon two factors:

a) knowing who is **in** the group

b) knowing who is **outside** the group.

It was felt that the second factor could be measured through noting the inclusion of non-members in the weekly listings. Non-members are mentioned by 2–4 members of the group until the sixth week of the group's existance. For the next two weeks one member (Moti) who has a poor social memory mentions a non-member. From the ninth week onwards, non-members do not feature in the lists anymore.

Our conclusion therefore was that the establishment of the idea of a group existence, i.e.: knowing who does **not** belong to the group appears in our group of severely retarded at about the 6th–8th week, and that before then the group concept is somewhat amorphous and undifferentiated.

It is interesting to note that absence of a member for a week or more, when occurring in tenth week or more made little difference to the extent of their being remembered by the other members of the group.

6. The ratio between remembering others and being remembered by others

Since we are concerned with the development of inter-personal relationships it is of interest to note what is the relationship between ability to remember other members of the group and of being remembered by them. Our hypothesis was as follows.

a) that this relationship would remain constant over the period of investigation.

b) that the ratio would be close to a 1:1 ratio.

Findings

A glance at the results in Table 7 indicate the following.

a) In the case of five trainees the ratio remained constantly 1 or less than 1.

b) In the case of three trainees the ratio remained constantly above 1, i.e.: they remembered more members than members remembered them (Milo, Yosi, Oved).

c) In two cases the ratio was unstable, sometimes being above 1, and sometimes below 1. These two cases are the only trainees with gross physical disability due to cerebral palsy.

Conclusion

It was concluded that the ability to remember other members of the group bore no relationship to the ability of being remembered by other members of the group.

Table 7. – Social Memory and Remembrance Ratio

		Number of members
a)	Consistently 1.0 or less	5
b)	Consistently above 1.0	3
c)	Unstable	2
	Total	10

7. The growth of a reciprocal relationship

As the group became more established, with full participation of its members for six days of the week, we assumed that some form of reciprocal relationship would be established between members. In our present testing situation, our hypothesis was therefore that, as we moved from the 4th to the 19th week there would be an increase in reciprocal social memory scores. i.e.: the number of members who remembered each other would increase. Table 8 shows the results of comparing who remembers whom in the fourth week and in the nineteenth week. It will be seen that the hypothesis is not established. There is no change in reciprocal social memory scores. Alon has a high reciprocity in both periods. Milo and Oved show low reciprocity in both periods. Shlomo and Mordechai show a deteriorating reciprocity rather than an improvement. No case shows a significant increase in reciprocity.

The conclusion therefore was that during the periods of observation, even though the group shows evidence of consolidation and adhesion through overall work performance, this does not come about

through increasing reciprocal relationships between the members themselves, at least not during this initial period of twenty eight weeks. In practice, it was noted that "cliques" did not form. There was little evidence of overt attempts at gaining supremacy or leadership, nor was there any indication of scape-goat phenomenon.

In contrast to other groups, the members of our gro up have two severe limitations: a) low level of intelligence and b) low self-esteem. The group provides an opportunity for improving self-confidence and self-esteem through the feeling of belonging to the group **as a whole** and identifying with what the group **as an entity** is doing. It is also likely that individual relationship with the group instructor may be of prime importance. What is of interest is that at least for the first six months of the group's existence, there was no jockeying for position, nor evidence of strengthening reciprocal relationships between members of the group.

Table 8. – Individual Reciprocal Social Memory Scores – at 4th and at 19th week

4th WEEK:	Moti	– of the	3	he remembers,	2	remember him.
	Alon	–	7		5	
	Milo	–	6		3	
	Yossi	–	9		5	
	Gabi	–	6		3	
	Shlomo	–	6		4	
	Oved	–	6		2	
	Zwi	–	7		5	
	Mordechai	–	4		4	
	Machluf	–	6		5	
19th WEEK:	Moti	– of the	3	he remembers,	2	remember him.
	Alon	–	6		6	
	Milo	–	6		3	
	Yossi	–	8		5	
	Gabi	–	3		3	
	Shlomo	–	6		2	
	Oved	–	6		2	
	Zwi	–	6		5	
	Mordechai	–	6		2	
	Machluf	–	4		3	

8. First Mention

That inter-personal reciprocal relationships develop poorly during the initial period of the group formation is further shown by the findings in Table 9 which details the members who were mentioned first by each trainee. On the assumption that the name that first comes to the mind of the trainee on testing would be the one that was most significant for him, at the time that he was being tested, the pattern of first mentioned names could indicate the development of inter-personal relationships and group leadership.

The findings indicate that there was no consistent pattern.

a) Over the period of testing no member was omitted from first mention on the tests on 4th, 11th and 19th week.

b) No member received more than two first mentions in any week.

c) Reciprocal first mentions were not found in any of the three weeks reviewed.

The conclusion is that relationships that exist between members are fluid ones. Names that are mentioned first may be due to chance or immediate experience and impressions on the day of testing. Group consolidation therefore does not come about through strengthening of reciprocal relationships, nor through the development of a leader in the group to whom other members look for support.

Table 9. – First Mention by Other members of The Group

Name	4th week	11th week	19th week
Moti	Yossi	–	Yossi, Oved
Alon	Milo	Milo	Moti
Milo	–	Oved	Alon
Yossi	Oved	Shlomo, Zwi	Shlomo
Gabi	Mordechai, Machluf	Alon	Milo, Mordechai
Shlomo	–	Yossi	Zwi
Oved	Gabi	–	Gabi
Zwi	Moti	Mordechai	Machluf
Mordechai	Alon	Machluf	–
Machluf	Shlomo, Zwi	Moti, Gabi	–
Total	10	10	10

9. Persistent Mention ("Imprint")

We assumed that if not all retardates would remember the names of all the other members of the group, even after being in daily intimate contact with them for weeks and months, it was more than likely that some members make a greater mental impression than others, and that some "imprinting" occurs. This would be evidenced by persistent mention in the weekly name call.

As a corollary it seemed more than likely that some members make a very poor impact, and that it is possible for a member of the group to make no imprint at all, thus barely gaining mention in the weekly recall of names. In order to look for patterns of "imprinting" the overall listing of names for the first twenty weeks was studied.

A summing up of the number of times each member's name was recalled by the older members over the period of assessment, is presented in Table 10. Members of the group were also listed in the order of tendency to high persistant mention, and in order of tendency to low persistent mention.

The following points should be noted.

a. One member (Zwi) is the only one who seems to have a strong impact.

b. One member (Gabi) stands out as making minimal impact.

c. Two members (Milo, Shlomo) are characterised by having an impact which is equally divided into strong, moderate and minimal on other members of the group.

d. The assumption of the possibility at psychological "non-existence" of some members for other in the group is borne out with two members. Moti did not mention Shlomo or Mordechai at all and mentioned Milo once and Gabi twice. Machluf mentioned Moti once and Milo twice..

e. There is only once instance of a member being recalled every time by another member of the group (Oved by Milo) and one case of a member being recalled nineteen out of twenty times by two other members (Zwi by Yossi and by Shlomo).

Conclusion

There seems to be a slowly emerging pattern of "imprinting". In a group of ten members it is reasonable that one member should make major impact and one or two a minimal impact, while some make an impact on some and not on others. The pattern of "imprinting" through persistent mention over the first twenty weeks of a group existence, is not a definite one, and seems to be related to personality factors which were not measured in this study.

Table 10. – Memory Imprint

	No. of times remembered by other group members		
	0 – 4	5 – 14	15÷
Moti	1	5	3
Alon	0	6	3
Milo	3	2	4
Yossi	1	6	2
Gabi	2	6	1
Shlomo	3	4	2
Oved	0	7	2
Zwi	0	3	6
Mordechai	2	3	4
Machluff	0	7	2
	"Week" Impring	"Average" Imprint	"Strong" Imprint

10. Reciprocity of imprinting

The question arose as to whether high impact by one member on another would be reciprocal, in terms of persistent mention.

Two members were found to have 4 reciprocal imprint scores, three had 3 and two had 2, one had 1 and two members had none.

The extent of reciprocity in imprinting ranged therefore from a maximum of four (our of nine) to a minimum of zero; and was scattered equally amongst the population of the group. Some members had high reciprocity, others moderate, while some had none. What makes for high – medium – and low reciprocity, in imprinting, is not clear.

11. The Group at one year of age

Our impression that progress towards group consolidation in terms of social memory reaches a plateau at about the ninth week and remains at that level is borne out by a number of re-tests carried out after the group had been in existence for a year (50th to 55th week). No further change had occurred. The average group score for the period was 6.2. The two members with poor social memory were still only remembering from 3 to 5 other members of the group.

It would seem that what could sink in with regard to the awareness of the presence of other members of the group had done so by the ninth week, and after that, those with poor social memory remained poor and those who scored better, continued to score better. Maximal scores were only reached by two members of the group, even after the group had been in existence for a whole year.

It is of interest to note that a similar test carried out on a group working in agriculture in the institution with an instructor for about 18 months, but not functioning as a group showed an average social memory score of 4.7 for 12 members.

Popularity

At the weekly listing of names of members of the group, each trainee was also asked which member he liked and which he disliked (and for what reason).

1. Popularity Pattern

Table 11 shows the rankings for likes for the first nine weeks and for the last nine weeks for members of the group, while Table 12 shows the rankings for "dislikes" for the same two periods.

The first four names are the same in the first and second periods for liking and the first three names are the same for these two periods for "not liking", so that there does seem to be some evidence of persistence in popularity rankings. One member (Mordechai) is outstanding in popularity rankings with first place on being like, and low rankings on not being liked. One member, (Zwi) is unusual in being amongst the top four for being liked but is also found amongst the top three for being "not liked". It may be remembered that the same trainee was the one that scored highest in being recalled on the weekly lists of names. It is apparent that he makes an impression, albeit a different one on various members of the group.

In comparing the pattern in the first and the second periods, it can be noted that there seems to be a polarisation in regard to likings with the popular four increasing in popularity in the latter period, while the reverse holds for "not liking", the top three diminishing in unpopularity in the second period.

It would seem that the socialisation process at work when belonging to a group promotes hightened delineation of like and lowered delineation of dislikes – which is a desirable trend.

2. Persistence of Likes and Dislikes

Who likes whom and who dislikes whom was studied in the 4th, 11th and 19th week of the group's existence. It was noted that persistence in attitude as evidenced by liking or disliking the same person at least two out of the three occasions was not pronounced. Three members show persistent likes, and four show persistent dislikes. There is only one case of persistent reciprocal dislike (Milo-Zvi). These findings re-inforce previous evidence that development of inter-personal relationships between trainees is very slow, and almost non-existent in the period under survey.

Table 11. – Popularity Pattern – Liked by Others

Order	Early 9 week Period		Later 9 week Period	
1	Mordechai	13	Mordechai	24
2	Zwi	13	Oved	12
3	Oved	8	Moti	11
4	Moti	7	Zvi	7
5	Shlomo	6	Yossi	5
6	Machluff	6	Alon	3
7	Alon	5	Shlomo	4
8	Yossi	5	Machluff	4
9	Milo	4	Milo	4
10	Gabi	4	Gabi	4

Table 12. – Popularity Pattern – Disliked by Others

Order	Early 9 week Period		Later 9 week Period	
1	Milo	36	Milo	20
2	Zwi	9	Shlomo	8
3	Shlomo	6	Zwi	6
4	Alon	6	Machluff	4
5	Gabi	3	Alon	3
6	Moti	1	Moti	2
7	Oved	1	Oved	2
8	Machluff	1	Mordechai	2
9	Yossi	1	Gabi	1
10	Mordechai	0	Yossi	0

3. Sociograms

Sociograms carried out on the 4th, 11th and 19th week did not indicate a persistent pattern. Although in the 11th week there was a focus of popularity around Mordechai, this was not apparent in the 19th week. If anything, the last sociogram showed more evidence of fragmentation than the previous weeks.

A sociogram one year later indicated that Moti was liked by 3 out of the nine members, Mordechai by two and three members are liked by one other trainee. It should be noted that at this period Moti could only list three members of the group, one of whom appeared in the list of members who like him. It would seem that even after a year the group had no set popularity pattern, nor was popularity linked with social memory.

The "We" Concept

Another indication of awareness of being part of a group is the extent of the use of "we" in speech, rather than the personal pronoun of "I" or a personal differentiation from the group through the use of the pronoun "they". One of the methods is to record the conversation of the group members and simply count the number of times the pronouns "we", "I" or "they" are used. However, the flow of speech and ability to maintain a lengthy conversation is very limited with the type of severely retarded trainee that we were dealing with. Therefore, we attempted to measure the growth of the "we" concept by asking each trainee three questions once a week.

1. What did you (plural) do yesterday?
2. What did you (plural) do the last time you had physical training?
3. What did you (plural) do today?

One point was given for each answer that contained a "we" reply.

One hypothesis was that with the growth of the group concept, there would be an increase in the use of the pronoun "we" in reply to the three weekly questions.

Findings

The findings for four consecutive weeks in the initial period and then in a latter 4 week period of the 20 week follow-up are shown in Table 13.

This preliminary investigation with a very small sample did not indicate very much. It did not show any growth of the group concept, as exemplified in the growth of the "we" concept, except in two members who joined the group two weeks after the rest (Mordechai and Machluff). It was also noted that the use of the "we" was not related to intelligence level nor to social memory. The most notable example was Moti who ranked lowest in social memory and third lowest in mental age, and ranked first in the use of the "we" pronoun. In his case, and perhaps in many others, the awareness of being in a group seemed to be present, irrespective of the awareness of the presence of other

members of the group. This is an interesting clue which needs to be studied in detail when investigating the nature of group dynamics amongst the severely retarded.

Table 13. – The "we" Concept

Trainee	(Max scores 12) Early 4 week period	(Max score 12) Late 4 week period
Moti	8	8
Alon	3	4
Milo	7	5
Yossi	6	6
Gabi	3	–
Shlomo	6	–
Oved	3	–
Zwi	8	4
Mordechai	1	6
Machluff	0	4

Summary

The evidence brought forward by the examination of participant behaviour, social memory and remembrance, imprinting, popularity patterns and the growth of the "we" concept, strongly suggests that with this group of severe retardates the growth of the group concept is a very slow one. It does not seem to be dependent upon the development of inter-personal relationships between members (at least in its initial stages) nor even upon conscious awareness of other members of the group as individuals with names and personalities. Since with the passage of time the group does demonstrate consolidation, cohesion, solidarity and cooperative progress, it would seem that this progress is achieved through the awareness and the concrete evidence that the group as a whole can achieve more than the individual can do, and that it can provide an atmosphere of enjoyment, while fulfilling a need to belong. It is not surprising therefore that group work based on development of interpersonal reaction between retardates may not succeed. It is possible for a retardate to gain direct benefit from group participation even of some of the other members of the group continue to exist for him only as annonymous shadows.

Since this study is exploratory, empiric and based only on the observation of one group, more research is called for in the field of group dynamics with the retarded. The study of the development of social relationships amongst retardates is likely to provide a good dividend in the promotion of rehabilitation efforts for the retarded.

Chapter Five

PHYSICAL EDUCATION FOR RETARDED

* Introduction
* Aims of physical education
* The nature of the physical education program
* Progress of the trainees
* Discussion
* References

Introduction

Like peace and motherhood, nearly all people feel that physical education is good and desirable for young and old, and by extension also for the retarded. Physical activities have therefore become an increasingly integral part of the programs for mild to moderate retardates – "educables" in school, recreation or summer activities (Martin 1964, Hayden 1964, Nardi 1965, Stein 1966, American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation 1966, Council for Exceptional Children 1966, Mondsheer 1967, Solomon 1967, Rubin and Plunmer 1967, Kelley et al 1967.).

However, for the severe retardate or "trainable" physical education has not been used so extensively, and reports in the literature specifically dealing with physical activities for the severe retardate are less (Happ 1968, Barnes & Hassel 1966, Baker 1967, Harrison et al 1966, Hillman 1967). There are three reasons for this disparity.

1. Severely retardates are mostly in non-educational settings, and are unlikely therefore to receive physical education.

2. Many severe retardates have associated physical handicaps, i.e. locomotor disability, (hypotonia in mongols, spasticity or athetosis in cerebral palsy), epilepsy, cardiac disease (Down's Syndrome) or sensory deficits. Because of the associated physical handicap, physical education may be considered "dangerous".

3. Because of poor cognitive abilities, impulsiveness and lack of judgement severe retardates are regarded as a potential danger for themselves or others in using equipment, or in jumping, running, climbing, somersaulting of swimming, and are therefore denied opportunities to learn how to carry out these physical activities.

If physical education be regarded as part of a rehabilitation program however all these considerations fall away. If rehabilitation is to mean, amongst other things, training towards work and productivity, then physical training can and should be provided even in non-educational settings with a rehabilitation context. The presence of associated physical handicap, should act as an extra spur for physical training, under skilled supervision and with minor modifications. Thirdly, the use of physical education as a rehabilitation technique should be able to lessen the emotional handicaps of impulsiveness, lack of judgement and inability to co-operate.

In a study sponsored by Social and Rehabilitation Services, H.E.W. in Israel on the effect of sport in rehabilitation Spira (1967) has shown that post-polio adolescents and disabled army veterans can benefit considerably from an active sports program, both from the physical and psychological point of view. In this study, Rosenberg (1967) reported that in comparing a participant to a non participant – control group of paralysed adolescents where participation was at least for a period of three months, the participant group showed fewer reduced limbs or constricted musculature ("reduction features", Goodenough) on retesting with the Draw-a-Person Test, indicative of less distortion of self-image as a result of the active sports program.

In considering the rehabilitation purpose of our project it was clear that physical education should be an integral and vital part of the program.

Aims of physical education for the retarded

1. Improve general fitness

Most of the trainees in the project were in poor physical shape due to lack of exercise. Many had poor stamina, flabby musculature, bad posture and some could not even walk properly. After six months in the physical training program most of them could walk two miles and back, and in addition put in a six to eight hour work day in the open air.

2. Improve co-ordination

Over and above basic physical handicaps, most severe retardates have poor co-ordination due to lack of experience. Few stimuli to fine finger use, good hand eye co-ordination and dexterity are provided in a custodial environment whether this be an overprotecting family home or a supervised institution. Special excercises and games e.g. table tennis were introduced to provide training in these areas, as well as in achieving balance, learning to judge heights and distances, gauging the weight of objects etc.

3. Improve self-confidence

The anxiety of supervisors with regard to the ability of severe retardates to carry out physical activities has been passed on to the trainees and coupled with their lack of experience, has resulted in very low self-confidence and a fear of physical activities, of falling, of somersaulting, of heights, of

using objects, and of machines. The approach of the instructor, and the success achieved with an increasing range of physical educational tasks, permitted trainees to overcome their fears, gain self-confidence and perform with less hesitation and more proficiency.

4. Strengthen group consolidation

It has already been noted that non-verbal activities were used to promote group consolidation. Thus, physical education was also used as an integral part of the group programme, whether this be through the nature of the activity, (ball games) or the use of group-reinforcing devices such as different coloured track suits for each group. The physical training instructor was a close and active member of the team. He worked closely with the group instructors. At all physical education sessions, the group instructor was an active participant. The close liaison between the physical training instructor and the group instructor permitted the former to plan his program in line with the overall group approach, to handle individual problems with foresight, and to gear the physical activities towards the demands of the work situation.

5. Training for work

Physical education was not regarded as an end in itself – but as a means to an end. Analysis of the agricultural work that was due to be carried out by the trainees showed the need for fine-finger movements in pruning and picking fruit, an ability to climb ladders and maintain balance on a high ladder, and the strength to carry a sack of fruit from the trees to the crates. Exercises were incorporated into the physical education program in line with these requirements and the physical education instructor made many visits to the work areas of the trainees.

The nature of the physical education program

Each group met two mornings a week from eight to noon or 12.30 p.m. Trainees were expected to assemble on time and in suitable sports outfits (provided by the research project) and tennis shoes. The session would begin with a long hike (about 2–3 miles) with short bursts of running interspersed and with short rests for the first hour, usually returning to the institution. The program would then continue as follows:

1. Calisthenics – approx. 15 minutes
2. Mattress exercises – approx. 15 minutes
3. Work on the "horse" – approx. 15 minutes
4. Social ball games – 30 minutes.
5. Mi xed activities – table tennis, weight lifting, ladder climbing – approx. 90 minutes until lunch time.

The fourth group, being an urban group met at the Spewak Sports Club for the Handicapped in Ramat Gan, and special stress was placed on two special activities – basket ball, and swimming (including diving for some).

The program was flexible, and the atmosphere was a relaxed one. Participants tended to look forward to these activities and enjoyed them very much. Disciplinary problems were minimal. The active presence of the group instructor helped to ensure maximal participation of the trainees. No overt distinctions were made in the physical education program between these with a physical handicap, and these without. Despite the fairly streneous nature of the physical activities, and their "riskiness", there were no accidents of any importance.

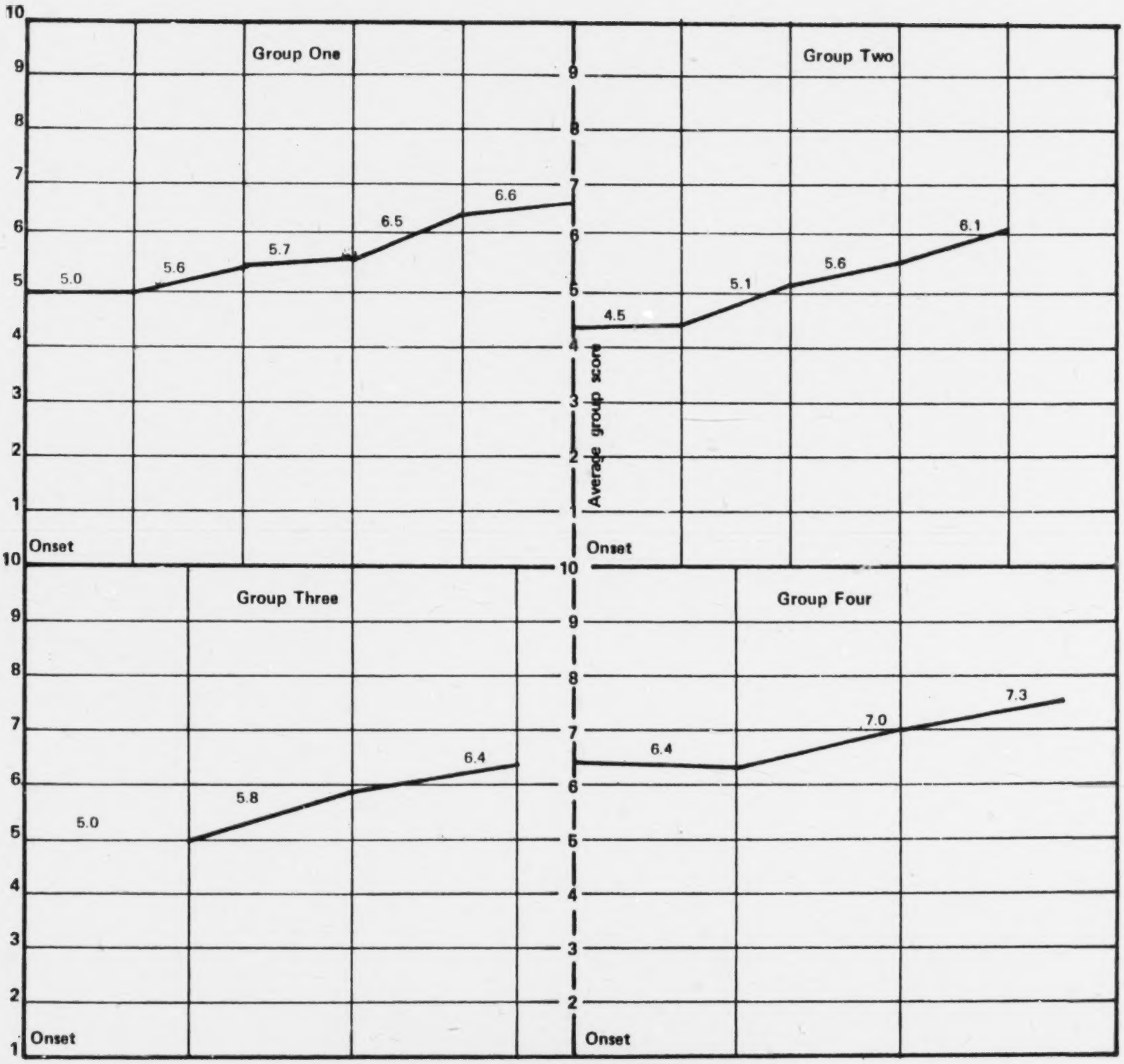
Progress of the Trainees

Since many of the trainees were in poor physical condition, the continuation of the physical education program for a period of 12–18 months, did much to improve their physical state. Progress was evident in their ability to walk or run further, to do an exercise which before was beyond their capacity, to achieve some ability in a sport which was not known to them beforehand e.g. table-tennis, swimming, basket ball. Progress could also be seen through comparison of movies (super 8 mm.) taken at about six monthly intervals, showing the same trainees carrying out the same exercises. These movies, photographed by the staff themselves, proved to be very useful. They were screened for the trainees themselves, shown to parents of trainees or prospective trainees, – and have been used as teaching films for professional workers in special education, mental retardation, physiotherapy and physical education.

The Eleven Exercise Test

An attempt was also made to measure individual and group progress through the use of an eleven-exercise test. Details of the test and its scoring were as follows:

1.	**Long Jump:**	4–5 metres run and jump onto a mattress.
2.	**Ball Bounce (tennis ball):**	Hand stability, height, bounce path of the ball.
3.	**Straight Line Walking (5 meters):**	To end and back. Length of paces and balance.
4.	**Standing on one leg:**	Hand on hip and balance, standard of performance.
5.	**Arm-back exercise:**	Flex and straighten arms while flexing back to left and right. Memory and standard of performance.
6.	**Multiple Hops:**	4 hops legs closed, 4 opening and closing, 4 forward, 4 backward. Memorising number and order of hops.
7.	**Head Stand:**	Courage, balance.
8.	**Forward Roll – on mattress:**	Courage, balance.
9.	**Elbow Flexion:**	Standing at an angle – bending and straightening elbows.
10.	**Run:**	50 metres round the building. Body movements and pace.
11.	**Ball game:**	understanding, co-operation and standard of performance.



PROGRESS OF 4 GROUPS ON EXERCISE SCALE

Scoring of Tests

1–3 Contact and co-operation nil or minimal
4–5 Co-operates but performance not successful
6–7 Average performance
8–9 Successful performance

Method

The physical education instructor scored each trainee on these tests in the first 3–4 weeks of the formation of the group. Retesting was done by the instructor at intervals of 3–4 months, without referring to previous scores (Some modifications were done with some of the tests especially with reference to Group Four). Results were finally tabulated for individual and group progress.

Although scoring was subjective, and the means of scoring were inexact, it is nevertheless felt that the findings give a fair indication of the progress achieved by members of the four groups.

Findings

1. The diagram sums up the overall progress of the groups on the exercise scale, by comparing average group score at the onset, and at subsequent retesting on four periodic occasions for Group One, three occasions for Group Two and Three and two occasions for Group Four. The maximum score possible is ten. Readers are reminded that Group One was the most veteran group, and that Group Four (the city group) was the group that functioned for the shortest period (15 months).

It is to be noted that all three institution groups functioning at the Kfar Nachman Institution began with a mean score of about 5 and progressed by adding 1.4 to 1.6 points (a 28 to 36 per cent increase). Group Four began at a higher average level and progress was limited to adding 0.9 points – an increase of 14 per cent. Had the physical education training program for this group continued for a more extended period, it is possible that this group may also have made more significant gains. It is to be noted that all groups showed a steady upward curve of progress on performance with the exercise tests.

2. Tables 13–14 indicate individual progress for members of Group One and Group Two. A generally steady upward trend is noted for most of the trainees. In Group One, one trainee was noted as having made very good progress, seven moderate progress, and two no significant progress. The onset scores range from 2.5 points to 8.0 points indicating the marked heterogeneity of the group. Group Two is less heterogeneous, with onset scores ranging from 2.8 to 6.2 points. Three trainees were regarded as having made good progress, five moderate progress, and one no progress.

3. Tables 15–18 indicate the progress made for the group as a whole with reference to specific exercises.

In Group One – good progress was made with arm-back exercise, short run, and straight-line walking. (Table 15)

In Group Two – good progress was made with straight line walking, standing on one leg and ball game. (Table 16)

In Group Three – good progress was made with ball game. (Table 17)

In Group Four – good progress was not noted in any of the exercise tests. (Table 18)

4. Our impressions of the progress of trainees on the exercise tests can be summarised as follows. In the three groups at Kfar Nachman with a population of thirty, six showed little improvement, seventeen showed moderate progress and seven marked improvement. In the city group – Group Four – two showed no improvement and nine showed marked improvement. (Table 19). Retardates differ in their initial level of ability probably to the same extent as non-retardates, but in general their initial level of performance would seem to be much lower than non-retardates. Most improvement seems to occur with retardates having a lower level of initial performance, but this is not always the case. If improvement and progress in physical proficiency can be demonstrated for severe retardates at this relatively late stage of their development, it seems that an intensive and controlled physical education program at an earlier age is clearly indicated.

Table 13. – Individual Progress on Exercise Tests: Group One

	Onset	Period A	Period B	Period C	Period D	Sign.
Ar.	8.0	7.5	8.6	9.0	9.5	x
Mati	5.5	6.2	6.3	7.0	7.7	xx
Dov	4.3	1.2	2.0	4.5	4.6	
Shmuel	6.1	6.4	6.7	7.0	7.5	x
Menashe	5.7	5.8	6.5	6.0	6.6	x
Zwi	5.7	6.1	6.0	7.0	7.2	x
Moti	7.0	7.1	7.9	8.1	8.3	x
Yosef	6.5	6.8	7.3	8.0	8.2	x
Shtern	4.4	5.2	5.0	5.2	5.7	x
Bar-David	2.5	2.4	3.8	4.7	2.0	

Table 14.– Individual Progress on Exercise Tests: Group Two

	Onset	Period A	Period B	Period C	Sign.
Zwi	5.6	5.9	6.9	7.1	x
Pinchas	4.4	5.9	6.2	6.2	x
Moshe	5.2	5.1	5.9	6.4	x
Katz	1.6	2.6	3.2	3.6	xx
David	5.9	6.0	5.9		
Israel	5.7	7.0	7.2	7.5	x
Weiss	3.8	4.1	5.5	5.8	xx
Asher	6.2	6.2	6.3	7.5	x
Misha	2.8	4.3	5.1	5.1	xx

Table 15. – Progress on Exercise Tests: Group One

Exercise	Onset	Period A	Period B	Period C	Period D	Sign.
Long jump	6.1	6.4	6.7	7.0	7.5	x
Ball bouncing	6.1	6.1	5.9	6.7	7.4	x
Straight line walking	5.1	6.2	7.0	7.1	7.7	xx
Standing on one leg	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.8	5.8	
Arm-back exercise	4.5	5.3	6.9	7.2	7.6	xxx
Multiple hops	5.5	6.0	5.6	6.5	6.5	x
Head stand	4.8	5.0	5.5	5.9	6.0	x
Forward roll	5.5	5.8	6.5	6.7	7.0	x
Elbow flexion	6.0	5.4	5.8	5.8	6.5	
Short run	4.9	5.9	6.2	6.7	7.5	xx
Ball game	5.7	5.2	5.3	6.2	6.4	
AVERAGE	5.0	5.6	5.7	6.5	6.6	x

Table 16. – Progress on Exercise Tests: Group Two

Exercise	Onset	Period A	Period B	Period C	Sign.
Long jump	5.2	5.6	5.9	6.0	
Ball bouncing	5.0	6.1	6.3	6.7	x
Straight line walking	4.1	4.8	6.9	7.1	xxx
Standing on one leg	4.5	6.9	6.4	6.5	xx
Arm back exercise	4.9	5.6	6.3	6.7	x
High jump	3.8	5.2	5.4	5.6	x
Head stand	3.6	3.8	4.6	4.9	x
Forward roll	5.2	5.8	6.6	6.9	x
Short run	5.1	5.9	6.4	6.6	x
Ball game	4.0	4.6	5.2	6.4	xx
AVERAGE	4.5	5.1	5.6	6.1	x

Table 17. – Progress on Exercise Tests: Group Three

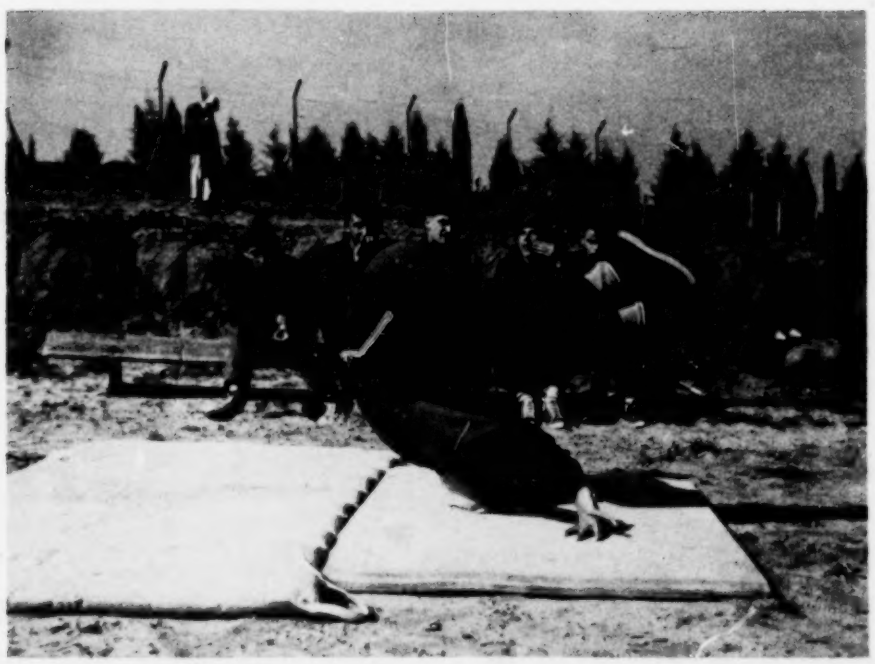
Exercise	Onset	Period A	Period B	Sign.
Long jump	5.0	5.6	6.4	x
Ball bouncing	5.9	6.7	7.1	x
Straight line walking	6.4	6.6	7.1	
Standing on one leg	4.8	5.1	5.8	x
Arm back exercise	4.5	4.1	5.8	x
High jump	5.1	5.5	6.0	
Head stand	4.1	4.8	5.7	x
Forward roll	5.1	6.0	6.4	x
Short run	5.6	6.4	6.8	x
AVERAGE	5.0	5.8	6.4	x

Table 18. – Progress on Exercise Tests: Group Four

Exercise	Onset	Period A	Period B	Sign.
Ball bouncing	6.0	7.1	7.3	x
Straight line walking	6.4	7.3	7.5	x
Arm back exercise	6.1	7.3	7.2	x
Elbow flexion	7.5	7.5	7.5	
Arm leg exercise	6.3	7.2	7	
Basket ball throw	6.3	7.2	7.4	x
Head stand	5.8	6.3	7	x
Short run	6.3	7.2	7.2	
Ball game	6	6.8	6.9	
AVERAGE	6.4	7.0	7.3	

Table 19. – Improvement on Exercise Tests

Group	(N)	Less than 10% improvement	10 – 19%	20% or more
One	(10)	2	7	1
Two	(9)	1	5	3
Three	(11)	3	5	3
Four	(5)	2	3	0
TOTAL		8	20	7



Discussion

A few comments on physical education for the severe retardate would be appropriate as a conclusion to this chapter.

Severe retardates do more than just derive pleasure from a physical education program. They **need** training in physical activities as a basic perquisite to habilitation, and the earlier the age that they can begin to receive physical education, the better.

Our experience with physical education in the severe retardate who is a late adolescent or young adult has shown the value of a program of this nature. A number of points should be borne in mind:

1. Allocation of time for physical education

Amongst other things, the severe retardate is slow in getting into the swing of things, especially if the demands upon him are possibly threatening in nature, or unknown to him. A short period of physical education e.g. an hour therefore is often wasteful, because of the time taken for the group to get organised. Our policy therefore was to provide eight hours a week for physical education based on two blocs of four hours (two mornings) a week. In this way it was felt that there was enough time to get into a number of activities, and provide an intensive and variegated period of physical activity.

2. The need for variety

The severe retardate is capable of getting bored. He also has more difficulty in concentrating. A physical education program therefore for the severe retardate needs to have a lot of variety. This is exemplified by having a number of calisthenic exercises each for a short period, a number of different forms of equipment, and mixing calisthenics, hiking, and ball games.

3. Concretisation

Little time shoud be spent on abstract aspects. The physical education progress should not be presented from the aesthetic-moralistic point of view, but simply as an activity program which is natural, and in which it is expected that all trainees will take part.

4. Flexibility

Physical activities have to be adapted to the cognitive limitations of the severe retardate. This demands flexibility on the part of those planning and providing instruction. In our program retardates learnt to play and enjoy table-tennis, even though they could not count up to twenty one. The trainees played until they were tired of playing. The benefits of training in hand-eye co-ordination and of social interaction were achieved irrespective of the absence of formal scoring and structuring of the game as it is generally accepted.

In playing soccer, the fact that goals were scored by members of the wrong side did not bother the instructor – and permitted the trainee to derive maximum benefit from the activity. These are but two examples of how one can provide a beneficial physical education program for severe retardates if the instructor is aware of the basic principles involved in exercise and sport, and can learn to dispense with the intellectual "frills".

5. Emphasis on Fun

Despite (or because of) the work ethic, it is doubtful whether non-retardates enjoy hard work. It is more than certain that enjoyment plays a major factor in the motivation of severe retardates towards any activity. Physical education may be regarded as an unpleasant necessity if the emphasis is not placed by the instructor on the pleasantness of the experience. If, however, the instructor realises the importance of introducing fun into the activity, the results are likely to be much better.

Special attention therefore should be given to considering how enjoyable an exercise or game is, how much stress should be placed on discipline, and how much a sense of humour on the part of the instructor can help to convert the physical exertion and training into an enjoyable experience.

6. Multiple Participation

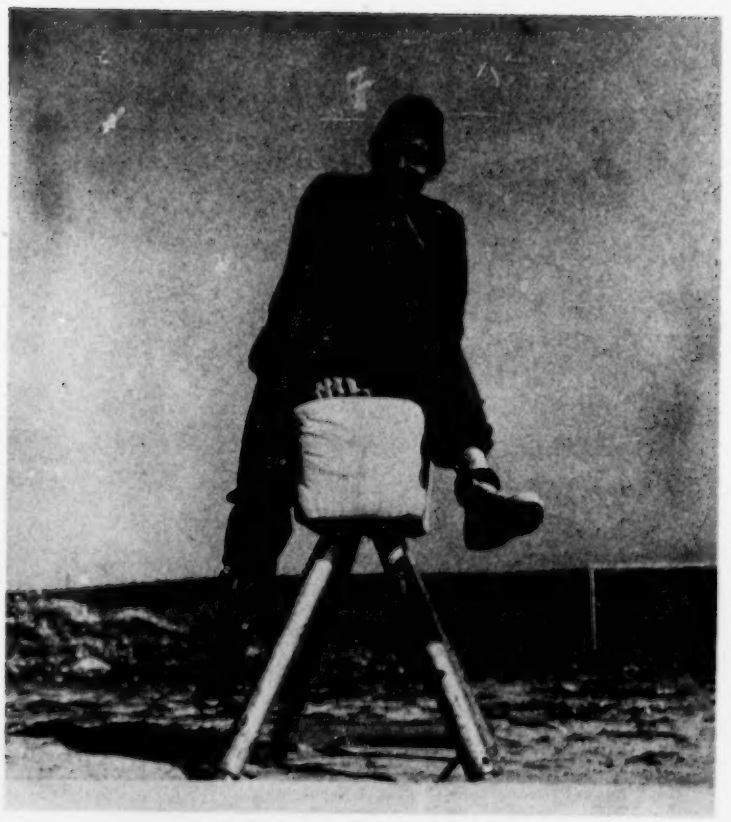
Inactivity during the physical education period causes boredom, lack of concentration, and possible disciplinary behaviour problems. Emphasis should therefore be placed on maximal participation most of the time. This can be done by having trainees act as assistants during individual exercises such as "jumping the horse", providing a number of weights and balls so that trainees need not wait in line to get a chance to use the equipment, utilising many group games, and arranging simultaneous activities i.e. while two trainees are playing table tennis, others are climbing ladders, or doing weight-lifting, etc.

7. No individual competition

In my opinion the self-esteem of the severe retardate is usually too fragile to withstand the stress of individual competition. Also, severe retardates vary enormously in mental, behavioral and physical abilities due to the varying nature of their mental handicap. It needs to be stressed that in every activity where one person comes out on top as "first", there are a number of persons who are hurt and saddened and discouraged by **not** having attained first place. For the severe retardate therefore, programs such as Olympic games for the Retarded with emphasis on individual achievement are not to be commended. Praise for individual achievement, and for self progress have their place, and little reliance should be placed on individual competition as a spur for motivation.

8. Group Activity

It was felt that the physical education program did much to enhance group consolidation, whether this was by the use of different coloured track suits for each group, competitions between the groups, intra-group ball games, co-ordinating work between the group instructor and the physical education instructor.



With careful planning, the physical education program therefore can act as a powerful instrument in promoting the aims of a group approach towards rehabilitation of the severely retarded.

9. Preparation for Work Requirements

The close relationship between the group instructor and the physical education instructor resulted in successful planning of activities which would act as a preparation for the specific requirements of the work situation. For example, learning to grip and use a table tennis racket was excellent training for the use of pruning shears and fruit clippers. Climbing ladders during physical education made it easier for trainees to climb ladders and maintain their balance on them when working out in the orange groves. Weight lifting provided good training in lifting and carrying filled bags of fruit or potted plants. Passing a heavy ball from one trainee to another while standing in a line was translated into an assembly line work for passing and loading potted plants and tins from the tree nursery onto trucks for transportation throughout the city parks of Ramat Gan. By knowing the nature of the work that is to be performed by the retardates, it is possible to plan physical education activities which will be geared to promote training in the skills required for the job.

In conclusion, it may be stated that physical education is a valuable instrument for rehabilitation, if adequate co-ordination exists between the professional workers dealing with the retarded, and if the program is planned to meet the problems of the severe retardate and the requirements for vocational success.

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Chapter Six

THE ATTITUDE OF A RURAL COMMUNITY TOWARDS THE RETARDED

* Introduction
* Survey method
* Findings
* The repeat survey
* Discussion
* References

Introduction

Acceptability of the retardate as a member of the special work group within the community was an obvious necessity for a successful rehabilitation program. Without objective un-emotional acceptance of the group by the farming community, no group however well trained and supervised can succeed in finding employment, with the many satisfactions that stem from productive work. For the success of our project this was a practical requirement. This requirement, however, gave us an opportunity to make a modest study of rural community dynamics. What happens – for instance – in a closed agricultural community when a group of retardates from a nearby institution begins to work in this community? How much attention should be given to preparing the community beforehand? How much follow-up work and propaganda is required? In order to find some answers, we needed a very simple instrument to attempt to measure community opinions. A questionnaire was therefore devised to inquire into the areas of "knowledge" and "attitude" towards the mentally retarded. The questionnaire was pre-tested with 20 randomly selected subjects in Tel Aviv. Following the pre-testing, minor changes were made and the questionnaire prepared for community distribution.

The following steps were then taken:

1. A house to house survey of all adults in the community was carried out using a simple ten-item questionnaire on knowledge and an eleven-item questionnaire on attitudes towards the retarded.

2. Through personal connections, one farmer was persuaded to allow the group to work in his grove, without payment and on condition that the research project pay for any damage caused.

3. The good work done by the group aroused the interest of other farmers.

4. After the elimination of a few formal obstacles, the group began to receive offers of work on a piece-work basis. Over the months, their conscientious approach to the work resulted in a situation

where the groups became much in demand, moving from one grove to another, and coming into daily contact with other farm workers and the farmers of the village.

5. After the group had been exposed to the community for over a year, the survey was repeated.

Method

A letter of explanation was mailed to all community members. After this a simple questionnaire was given to each adult in the community i.e. husbands, wives, and their children aged eighteen years at least, through a house to house visit by a social worker. The villagers were asked to fill the questionnaire in anonymously, so that the social worker could call a week later and collect the filled forms. Members of the family were asked not to communicate with each other about the questions asked and answers given. If the questionnaire had not been filled out by the return visit, the social worker encouraged the person to fill it out on the spot. People who were ill or away were visited on more than one occasion.

In general, the response and co-operation was very good. Only four people in three families refused to fill out the questionnaire at the time of the survey. One year later an identical procedure was carried out, with the exceptions that the forms were given out and collected by the instructor of Group Four. Some attrition was evident, and 129 questionnaires were completed, as compared to 140 in the first round. However, there were no statistically significant demographic differences between the population samples of the first and the repeat survey.

The Sample

The sample population was approximately equally divided by sexes, with 56% males and 44% females. One third, mostly the younger villagers, had been born in Israel, sixty-five per cent in Central or Eastern Europe and only five per cent were born in North Africa or in the Middle East. Of those born outside Israel 77% had come to Israel before the founding of the state in 1948, and 23% were immigrants who had come after the state had been established. Eighty six per cent were married, the majority having two or three children. As far as age was concerned the population could be divided roughly into four quarters. One quarter aged 58 years or more, one quarter in the 49–48 year old age group, one quarter 29–48 years old, and one quarter 28 years or younger. The general level of education was not high. One fifth of the population had had less than four years schooling, and only 17% had completed high school. Four per cent of the population had worked in the past or at present with retardates, while 29 per cent had a relation in the family who was retarded. (It should be remembered that the survey included two or more members of a family.)

The overall picture therefore was of an established, ageing population, of European immigrants and their children living in the village for a number of years, working in agriculture and with a not very high educational level.

Findings

Knowledge of mental retardation

This section of the questionnaire consisted of ten statements about mental retardation, to which the response could be "true", "partly true", "not true", "don't know". (The questionnaire and overall results are to be found in the Appendix). For the purposes of scoring, one point was given for each response regarded as correct; and partly correct, unsure or incorrect responses were not scored. The score distribution for the population of the survey was as follows:

No. of points :	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Percent :	3	9	28	21	16	10	3	100

It can be seen that no one got more than six points, and altogether 71 percent scored three points or less. Two common misconceptions were:

a) "Retardation has an equal incidence in all classes"
Fifty-three per cent regarded the statement as true.

b) "It is not possible to prevent mental retardation"
Fifty four per cent agreed with this pessimistic viewpoint.

On the other hand, it is to be noted with relief that 74 per cent regarded the statement "reading difficulty in school is a sign of mental retardation" as being untrue.

It can be said therefore that the general level of knowledge about mental retardation in this rural community is low, but without any information about the general public, it cannot be said that it is less than in other communities, e.g. urban, kibbutz, in the country.

Attitude to mental retardation

The attitude section of the questionnaire contained eleven statements, and respondents were asked to indicate their response as "agree", "partly agreee", "not sure", "disagree". Except for the statement that "the retardate is an unfortunate who suffers a lot", all the other statements indicate various forms of intolerance or prejudice towards the retarded as a group. The nature i.e. "mild", "moderate" or "severe" retardation or the age factor was not delineated, nor was it brought up to any extent as qualifying factors by the respondents in their replies and reactions.

Points were therefore given only for disagreeing with the statement. The questionnaire and the overall distribution of replies is reproduced in the Appendix. It is appreciated that some of the statements have an "element of truth". Nonetheless they are not to be accepted as generalisations. The attitude scale therefore was "biased" towards measuring limits of tolerance on the part of the population surveyd. The point distribution was as follows:

No. of points :	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Percent :	6	23	24	19	9	10	7	0	1	1	100

It will be noted that only two percent scored more than six points and 72 percent scored three points or less. This distribution is similar to the percentage distribution for the knowledge scale. The scattergram indicates that the large majority of the individuals in the population under survey score low both on knowledge and attitude to the retarded.

For purposes of comparison, the survey was also carried out in another village (N = 76) with a similar demographic make-up. Results followed the same pattern, and a similar trend is noted on the scattergram of the second village.

Individual Items on the Attitude Scale

The individual items on the attitude scale can be divided into five categories – and it may be of interest to consider the responses given on the individual statements.

a) **Sympathy:** One statement has been included that evokes sympathy. "The retarded is an unfortunate, who suffers a lot".

To this statement 49 per cent agree, 20 per cent partly agree, 11 per cent are uncertain and 19 per cent disagree. It is evident that the retarded arouses sympathy in this community. Only less than a fifth avoid the over compassion implied in this item, which in terms of rehabilitation has a negative implication.

b) **Inadequacies of retardation:** Two statements dealt with inadequacies of mental retardation:

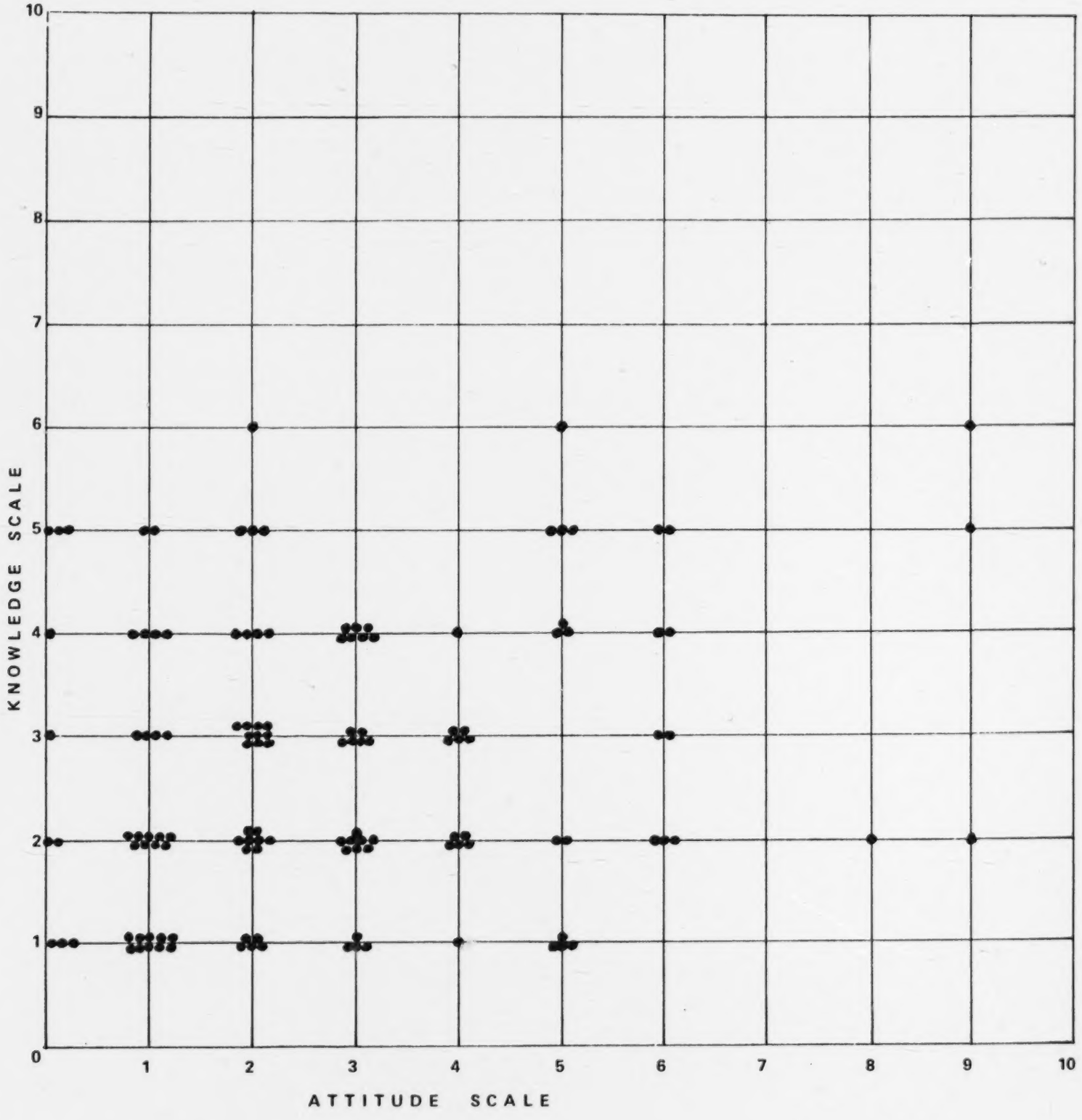
i. "The retarded is not able to be a good husband"
(this project dealt only with male retardates)

ii. "The retarded is not able to be a good worker"

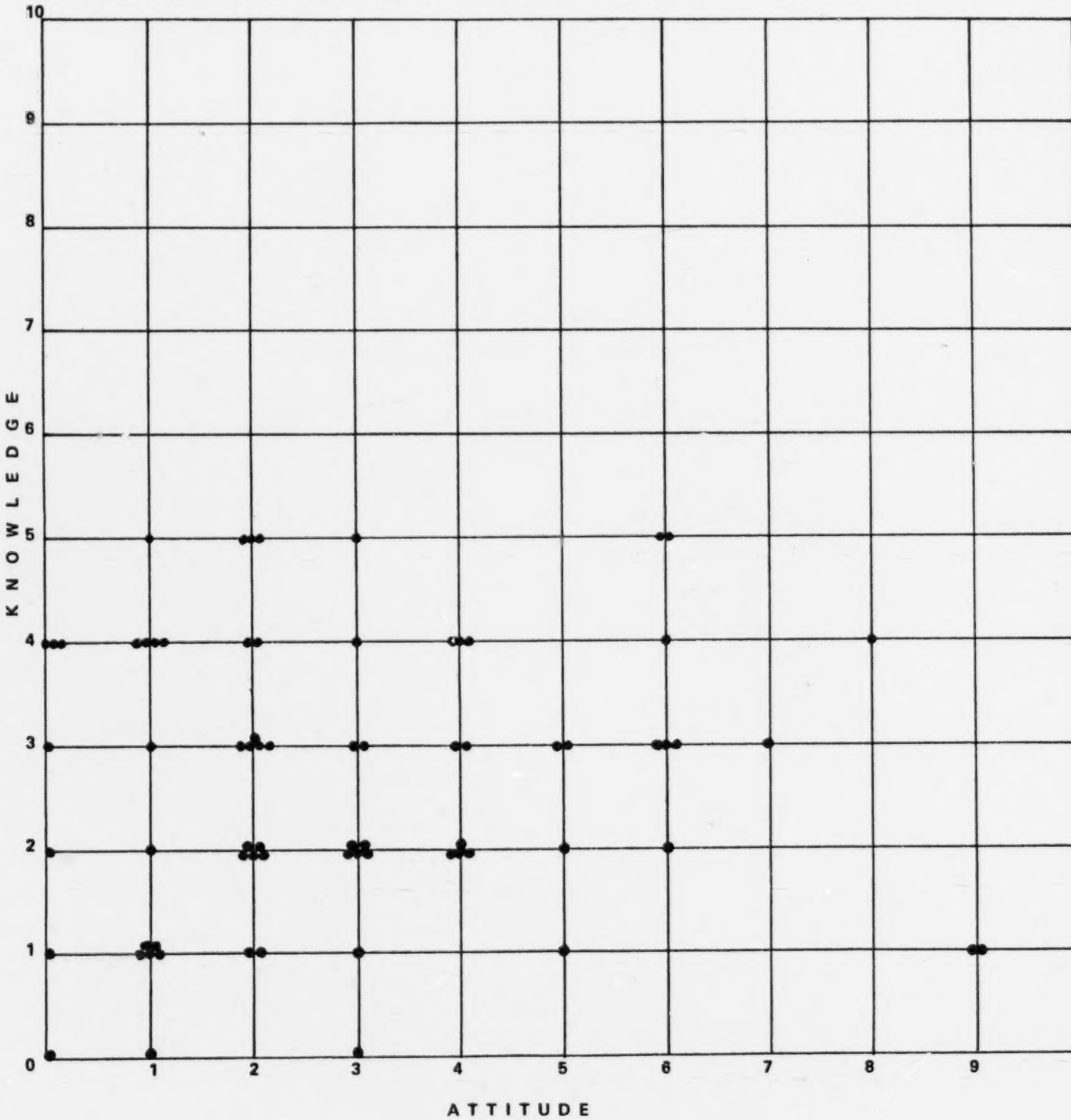
Findings were as follows:

Statement	Per cent			
	Agree	Partly agree	Not sure	Disagree
	%	%	%	%
i. The retarded is not able to be a good husband	15	15	50	20
ii. The retarded is not able to be a good worker	9	19	13	59

Scattergram: Relationship between knowledge and attitude in mental retardates, in rural community of RISHPON



Scattergram: Relationship between knowledge and attitude in mental retardates, in rural community of GIVAT



The question of the ability of a retardate to be a good husband seems to be a delicate one, and half the population are not sure about their attitude while the rest are divided roughly between those who agree, partly agree of disagree.

As to the capacity of a retardate as a worker there is much less hesitancy (13%) and almost two thirds of the population do **not** accept the statement. In terms of environmental demands, this may be because good work can be done in agriculture without a necessity for a high level of intelligence, whereas family living and responsibility are regarded as more demanding and therefore the retardate is regarded as less liable to succeed in this complex field of social relationships.

c) **Rights:** As a retardate becomes an adult, two adult rights amongst others come to the fore, i.e. the right to marry and the right to have children. The two statements in this category are presented so as to imply that these rights be denied to the retardate.

i. "Marriage of the retarded should be forbidden"

ii. "Married retarded should not have children"

The findings are recorded in the following table:

Statement	Per cent			
	Agree	Partly agree	Not sure	Disagree
Marriage of the retarded should be forbidden	44	14	22	17
Married retarded should not have children	52	9	29	9

It is clear that this population at least is not willing to see marriage and parenthood as permissible functions for the retarded. This is probably the case with the general population in Israel. The pattern of response to the two statements is fairly similar with a slight trend towards less agreement on the second statement. It is more than likely that the negative approach to marriage of retardates stems from the feeling that by having progeny, they are likely to increase the number of retardates in society.

d) **Contact with the Retarded:** If the retarded are undesirable, or dangerous people, it would be understandable that an attitude of avoidance of contact would be present. Three levels of contact were included in three statements, dealing with contact with young children, at work, or in general.

i. "There should not be contact between retarded and small children"

ii. "Retarded should work apart in sheltered workshops"

iii. "The place of the retarded is in a suitable institution".

The last statement may sound a reasonable one, but the use of the word for "institution" (in Hebrew "mosad") is generally taken to mean a residential setting, and agreement with the statement

can therefore be understood as an attitude favouring separate in-dwelling facilities for the retarded, i.e. segregation. Since many institutions are regarded as being of poor standard the word "suitable" was added to the statement on institution.

Findings were as follows:

Statement	Per cent			
	Agree	Partly agree	Not sure	Disagree
i. There should not be contact between retarded and small children	41	24	14	20
ii. Retarded should work apart in sheltered workshops	47	21	11	19
iii. The place of the retarded is in a suitable institution	78	17	2	1

Only one fifth of the population disagree with the concept that retardates should not come into contact with young children, and that they should work apart in sheltered workshops. As for the place of the retardate in society, the tendency is quite pronounced. Only one per cent disagree, and two per cent are unsure about the "institution" statement. It is clear that the overwhelming majority regard a suitable institution as the place for the retardate.

e) **Judging the retarded:** The final category includes three statements which are judgemental about the retarded, and stigmatise them as a group. These statements are:

i. The retarded is not emotionally stable

ii. The retarded are less moral than others

iii. The retarded tend to delinquency.

Findings are presented in the following table:

Statement	Per cent			
	Agree	Partly agree	Not sure	Disagree
i. The retarded is not emotionally stable	46	12	31	9
ii. The retarded are less moral than others	23	15	29	32
iii. The retarded tend to delinquency	14	26	21	38

Over half the respondents regard the retardate as emotionally unstable to a greater or lesser extent – which is probably not an unrealistic assessment. It might even be desirable that mental health workers have a similar assessment, and be activated to provide more counselling for retardates and their families.

One third reject the premise that the retardate is less moral than others, and a similarly proportion do not accept the idea that retardates tend to delinquency. However, a two thirds majority do not reject these judgemental statements, and we can assume that much stigma exists with regard to the image of the retardate in the eyes of the majority.

Summing-up (see Table 20)

Summing up therefore, one may note that the population under survey tends to note the retardate as an unfortunate, who could be a good worker, but is less likely to be a good spouse. In general, interviewees felt that the retardate should be kept from coming into contact with young children, preferably work apart, and should find his place in an institution. Marriage and parenthood were regarded as unrealistic for him. He is seen as not so emotionally stable, and is regarded by the majority as less moral and more delinquent than the others. This "image" of the retarded is probably not confined to this rural community. It contains a number of negative features, but the image is not a threatening one, nor is the attitude particularly repressive.

Table 20. – Attitude to mental retardation: Rishpon, 1968. (N = 140.)

		Agree %	Disagree %	Undecided %
1.	The place of the retarded is in a suitable institution	78	1	21
2.	Married retarded should not have children	52	9	39
3.	The retarded is an unfortunate who suffers a lot	49	19	32
4.	Retarded should work apart in sheltered workshops	47	19	34
5.	The retarded is not emotionally stable	46	9	45
6.	Marriage of the retarded should be forbidden	44	17	39
7.	It is desirable to prevent contact between retarded and children	41	20	39
8.	Retarded are less moral than others	23	32	45
9.	The retarded is not able to be a good husband	15	20	65
10.	Retarded tend to delinquency	14	38	48
11.	The retarded is not able to be a good worker	9	59	32

Follow-Up – the second survey

On repeat survey over one year later, little difference was noted, on the knowledge and attitude scales. On three statements in the attitude scale some hardening of attitude was noted, with "softening" of attitude in regard to two other statements. These minor changes are noted in Table 21.

The overall pattern however remains unchanged as demonstrated in the diagram. In 1968 72 per cent scored three points or less, and two per cent scored seven or more pounts. In 1969 – 69 per cent scored three points or less, and three per cent scored seven or more points.

However on the repeat survey we added two more questions. (See Table 22).

a) "Have you heard about retardates working in the groves of Rishpon?" Seventy five per cent replied in the affirmative.

b) "What are your feelings about retardates working in the orange-groves of Rishpon?"
Only four per cent replied "negative", 65 per cent were positive and 31 per cent were not sure or did not reply. Reasons for their attitude, are tabulated in Table 23.

The important point that we found out, was that despite no change in negative attitude, two thirds of the adults in the community (male and female) were prepared to have severely retarded adult males work in the area – because they had heard or seen that they were good workers. So that the discrepancy between attitude and behaviour can work in a "paradoxical" way i.e. negative attitude but positive behaviour. Indeed, people should change their negative attitudes. But, what I wish to emphasize is that this need not be a perquisite to successful absorption into a closely-knit labour market – as we have seen in our case. Emphasis therefore needs to be placed less on ideological campaigns to make people "nicer", but rather should be placed on planning a series of subtle practical steps which will lead to incorporation of the retardates into the community at a certain level, and will allow exposure to be mutually profitable, **even though prejudices persist.**

The question that requires amplification is "Why did the project succeed in gaining acceptance in the rural community?"

The following factors played a role.

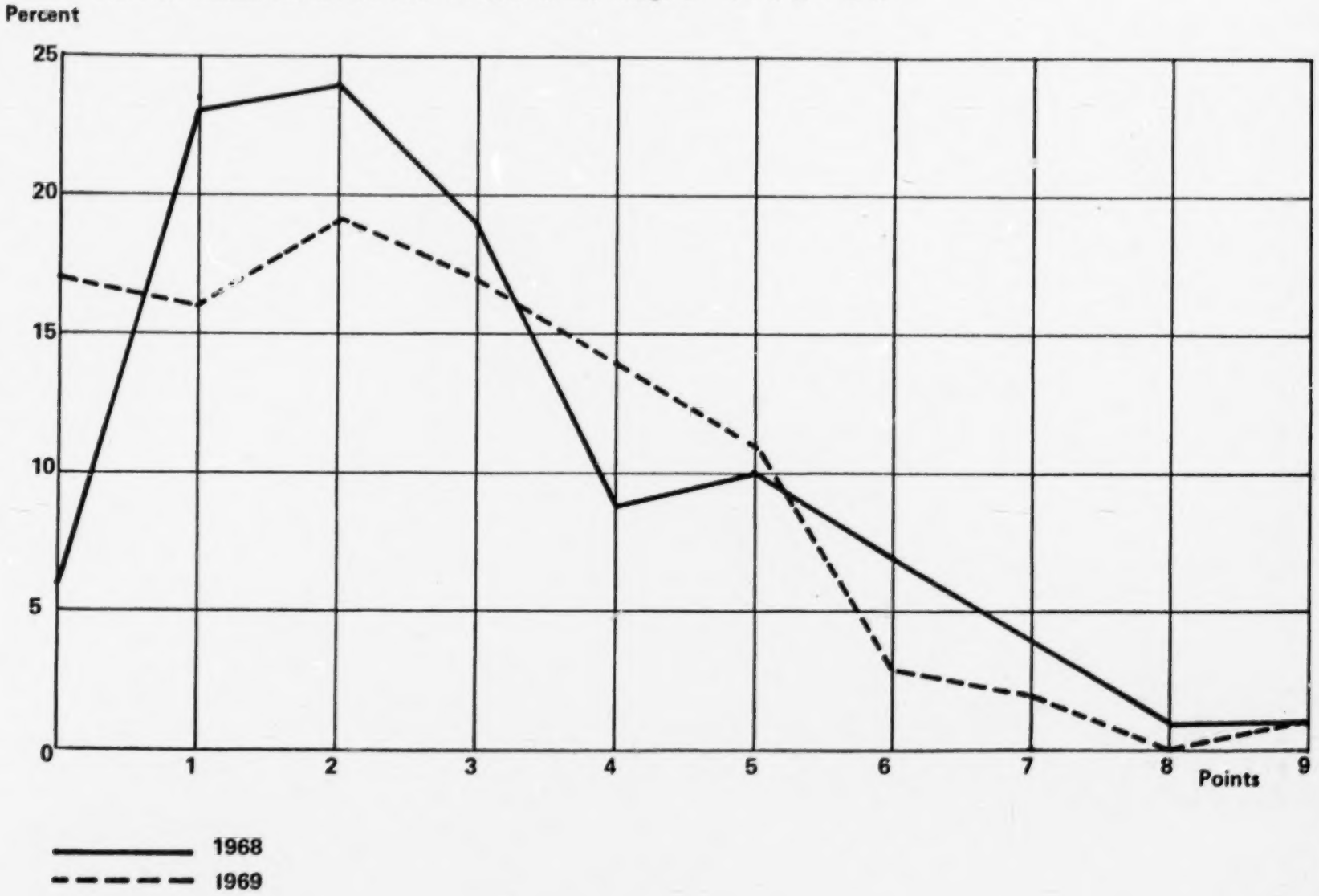
1. The attitude of the community

Despite an overall negative attitude, it should be noted that in the survey only nine per cent agree with the statement that "the retarded is not able to be a good worker". It would seem that in this area at least, strong prejudice did not exist.

2. The need for help

The farmers needed extra help. Many members of the village had lived there thirty years or more. Due to increasing age they were finding it more difficult to cope physically with the work in the groves,

Score on mental retardation attitude scale in the village of R I S H P O N



while the younger generation tended to move into the town or was away in the Army. The farmers were reluctant to give up their farms, and the only solution was obtaining extra labour.

3. The spread of an attitude

Employment attitudes spread by diffusion, through demonstration of concrete results. This has been the classic way for promoting change in agricultural methods. The importance of the diffusion process – in adoption of new attitudes on behavioral practices has been demonstrated by Katz and Lazarsfeld.

When one farmer saw that his neighbour had benefitted from employing a group of retardates, there was no basic need for trying to convince villagers through pamphlets, lectures, or individual discussion.

4. The element of choice

The villagers had a choice. They were not compelled to employ retardates because of public opinion, previous commitments or executive decision. Cohen (1960) has stated "It could be said that when the individual feels that he has most freedom of choice, when his volition and responsibility are most engaged, he is then most vulnerable to the effects of persuasive communication". In our case both volition and responsibility depended upon the individual farmer.

Reports in the literature on attitude of employers towards mentally retarded do not deal with rural communities. Vivid examples of stigma and prejudice are to be found in the literature (Posner 1966), including fiction (Keys 1959).

Cohen (1963) found no correlation between favourable attitude towards employment of the retarded and the three variables of educational level of employers, vocational contact, and the presence of a realistic concept of mental retardation. He stressed that knowledge and attitude are variables, the attitudes that were held, being irrespective of knowledge of mental retardation.

Hartlage (1965, 1966) in studying factors affecting employer receptivity towards the mentally retarded found that manufacturing industries were more receptive than service industries and large industries more receptive than small ones.

Phelps (1965) found that restaurant and nursing home personnel managers were more reluctant to employ retardates than hospital and motel personnel managers. He found a positive correlation between favourable attitude and the three variables of educational level, length of time in present posts, and length of time in present organisation. About two thirds of the 51 per cent of employers who replied to the mailed questionnaire indicated that retardates could do productive work and that most organisations should be able to hire some retarded persons.

Mayer (1968) followed up 48 employers who had been interviewed concerning employment of retardates and found one employer with a positive change of attitude, three with a negative change, and the rest unchanged.

Table 21. – Change in attitude to mental retardation (Rishpon)

		(N = 140) 1968 – %		(N = 129) 1969 – %	
		Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
a)	Married retarded should not have children	52	9	64	9
b)	The retarded is not emotionally stable	46	9	61	8
c)	It is desirable to prevent contact between retarded and children under ten	41	20	50	13
d)	The retarded cannot be a good worker	9	59	16	53
e)	The retarded is an unfortunate who has suffered a lot	49	19	39	28
f)	Retarded tend to delinquency	14	38	12	47

Table 22. – Attitude to retardates working in Rishpon (N = 129)

	1969 – %		
	Yes	No	No reply
Have you heard about retardates working in the orange groves at Rishpon?	75	21	4

	Positive	Negative	Not sure	No reply
What is your attitude towards retardates working in the orange groves at Rishpon	65	4	20	11

Table 23. – Attitude to retardates working in Rishpon

Favourable	– because their work is satisfactory	34
	– for humanitarian reasons	9
	– provided there is supervision	16
	– provided they work as a separate group	4
	– provided the work is suitable	6
	– provided they do no damage	3
	Total:	72
Unfavourable	– unsatisfactory workers	6

5. The group as a "buffer"

The group approach acted as a buffer to resistance and fears on the part of the employer. Hartlage (1965) reported that the areas that employers felt the retarded would be particularly deficient in were:

a) ability to adjust to new situations;

b) the need for more supervision.

When a group is employed under the supervision, and with the responsibility of the group instructor, the employer's fears can be allayed. The employer as such will not be directly responsible for the health (and many severe retardates have epilepsy or a physical disability) attendance, behaviour, and productivity of the retardate, since this will be handled by the group instructor. In the initial stages of employment this factor is probably vital in acceptance for work, when dealing with severely retarded. As time goes on, and the employer gets over the fear induced by the stereotype of the retarded, and realises that the retardate is a human being with abilities as well as disabilities, the need of a buffer diminishes and the employer may be willing to take over more responsibility and more direct supervision of the work of the retarded employee. Thus, with time in Group One, four farmers were persuaded to hire individual trainees, and Group Four remained in its work, under the direct supervision of the director of the tree nursery, after the research project had ended.

6. The nature of the work

In dealing with individuals whose production is lower than average, employers will only be willing to provide work on a piece-work basis. Thus nearly all sheltered workshops work on this principle in obtaining work through sub-contracts for their clients.

The nature of work in the orange groves was such that piece-work contracts could be arranged whether this be whitewashing trees, (per tree), hoeing and cleaning a grove (by size of grove), pruning trees (per tree), or picking fruit (per crate).

With the mentally retarded a special factor in productivity is speed. The retardate works at a slower pace, and may often be flustered when work needs to be done to a time-limit. The nature of citriculture is such that work is done at a certain season, but need not be completed within a rigorous time-table. Thus, the nature of the work permitted the retardates to offer their services, and be paid in line with their productivity.

7. The work qualities of a retardate

Since all agricultural labours were paid on a piece-work basis, the regular workers placed all their emphasis on productivity. For instance in order to reach a high level of productivity – and therefore earn more money, workers would pick oranges as rapidly as they could. Due to their speed, and subsequent carelessness, the oranges might be nicked in picking, resulting in black spots on the peel. These oranges were then not suitable for export, but as second-grade oranges were sent for domestic consumption, or for canning and subsequently fetched a lower price than a first-grade orange. On the average, about 13

per cent of oranges picked turn out to be second-grade oranges. When the first two groups of severe retardates began picking fruit, speed was not a factor. Emphasis was placed on **not** damaging the fruit. The retardates thus worked slowly but with care. As a result, a crate of oranges (approximately 400 lbs) would contain only 6–7 per cent second-grade fruit – thus providing the farmer with a bonus at no extra cost.

Another example would be the problems of fruit on old trees. The older orange-trees reach to quite a height, and some of the fruit is so high up that it can only be reached by scaling up a ladder. Quite often the regular worker concerned with speed and productivity would not bother to waste time in fetching and climbing up and down ladders, and would leave the fruit on the top of the tree unpicked. Similarly, fruit found at the very bottom of the tree, requiring the worker to crouch or crawl flat down on his stomach in order to pick it, would also be left behind – and there was little the farmer could do about it. In the case of the retarded worker, such considerations did not exist. If the retardate was told to pick all the fruit off the tree, he would do so, slowly and conscientiously. As a result farmers were getting more fruit per tree when the old trees were picked by retardates – again a bonus for the farmer.

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that a "paradoxical" situation arose, where the retardates were **preferred** as workers, and became an integral part of the labour force in the village of Rishpon.

This may not always happen, and our attempt to succeed in another village, was not crowned with success. A full discussion of the community reaction to the project in the two villages will be found in the "Round-Table Discussion".

Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to analyse the nature of the reaction of a rural community towards the employment of severe retardates on a group basis. It should be clear that success will first of all depend upon a careful analysis of the nature of the community – its economy, its strengths and weaknesses, and the pattern of the labour market. Secondly, emphasis should be placed on infiltration through local concrete demonstration, exposure to the practical evidence and its use as medium for persuasion.

Finally, the whole question of attitude and attitude change should be re-evaluated. Admittedly the present survey was based on a very simple questionnaire, which while lacking the comprehensiveness and adequate statistical design of more sophisticated questionnaries such as that of Jordan (1968), has the advantage that it is likely to be answered honestly by people who are too busy generally to co-operate in such matters. The results seem to suggest that negative attitudes may not be incompatible with positive behaviour. It may be that the farmers in the survey (like many of us) needed to retain their prejudices which are based on deep rooted impressions, incorporated into their outlook and possibly help to bolster self-esteem. Thus trying to force people to deny what they have believed for so long, may be

an unreal and perhaps unwise approach in persuading employers and others to change their behavioural practice towards the retarded. This however can only be regarded as a preliminary assumption, and there is a need for more research in this area, through the mobilisation of the professional expertise of rehabilitation workers, social psychologists and anthropologists.

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Chapter Seven

FOLLOW–UP

* Follow-up of group members
* Follow-through after termination of the project
* Research utilisation
* References

Follow-up of group members

Apart from individual impressions of progress of members of the group, and follow up measurements of progress achieved through physical education, we were interested in trying to measure the psycho-social progress of the trainees. This is not easy to do, and various attemps at evaluation of the mentally deficient in institutions have not been singularly successful (Maller etal, 1967.).

Our attempt to use a work evaluation form in use at vocational assessment centers for the handicapped in Israel was also not crowned with success. Follow up with regard to the trainees in the four groups was therefore confined to two aspects:

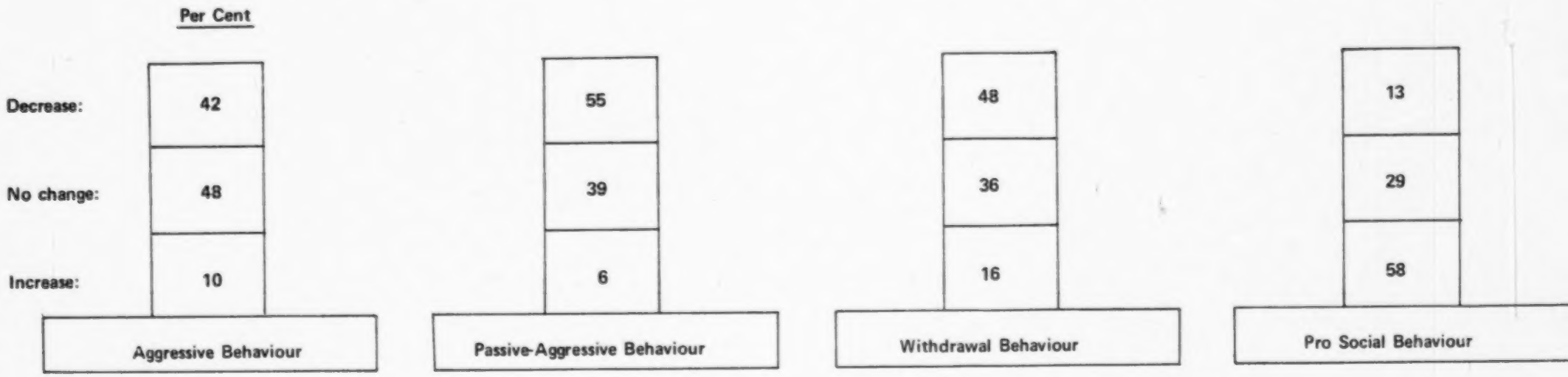
a) Repeat of psychological tests at termination of research project – i.e. Stanford Binet, Bender, Draw-a-Person tests.

For Group One, this meant re-testing after 32 months in the group milieu, whereas for groups Two and Three this was less, and Group Four follow-up testing was only 15 months after onset of activities in a group setting.

Repeat tests did not show any significant change. Since we were dealing with severe retardation usually of organic nature, it is not surprising that the level of intelligence as measured with the Stanford Binet did not change. (For results see Appendix). On the Bender-Gestalt test, and in some of the drawings, there was an impression of improvement, and some better organisation of material, especially with the more veteran members in Group One, but this "improvement" did little to change the overall picture of retardation evident on initial and repeat examination.

b) **Behaviour Pattern**

Although no improvement in cognitive abilities was anticipated, it was hypothesized that improvement in behaviour would occur as a result of participation of trainees in a group-environment for a long period. In order to measure this, the behaviour check list used by Ross et al (1965) was used with



CHANGES IN BEHAVIOUR PATTERN OF 31 RETARDATES IN FOUR GROUPS

minor adaptations. The list contains four sub-scales for Aggressive Behaviour, Aggressive-Passive Behaviour, Withdrawal Behaviour, and Pro-Social Behaviour. The same scales were used in a study on mongolism in the Tel Aviv area (Chigier 1969) and were found to be useful in assessing the behaviour of severely retarded children, adolescents and young adults. At approximately four month intervals, instructors rated their trainees on these scales (see Appendix).

For purposes of comparison, findings at onset and towards termination of the project were compared, and only with regard to those trainees who were evaluated throughout the period of the project.

In terms of the tests used, it was hypothesised that trainees at the end of the project – as compared to the onset, would score lower in Aggressive and Aggressive-Passive Behaviour. They would be expected to score lower on the Withdrawal Behaviour Scale, and to score higher on the Pro-Social Behaviour. Since all groups functioned under the same principles, change would be expected to occur in all groups, possibly to a greater extent in the more veteran groups.

Table 24 shows group scores on the Aggressive Behaviour Scale. Two of the groups had very low scores at the onset while two other groups had modest scores at the onset.

In three out of the four groups, the hypothesis was supported and there was a decrease in group score. As far as Aggressive-Passive Behaviour was concerned (Table 25) all groups showed a definite decrease.

On the Withdrawal Behaviour Scale, three groups show a decrease which is only significant in the two more veteran groups. Group Four, the group with the shortest duration, did not show any improvement on this scale (Table 26).

On the Prosocial Behaviour Scale (Table 27) all groups showed an increase.

Viewing all the trainees in the four groups who were followed up extensively (see Diagram) it will be noted that a decrease in aggressive behaviour occured in almost half (42%), with an increase in ten percent. Passive-aggressive behaviour scores were decreased in over half (55%) with an increase in six percent. Similarly almost half the trainees showed a decrease in withdrawal behaviour, and one sixth an increase. Improvement in prosocial behaviour was evident in 58 percent, with a decrease in 13 percent.

Thus it may be said that the hypothesis in general was supported. The evidence suggests that the trainees improved in social behaviour to a significant extent, and more impressive results might have been noted if all four groups had functioned for the same length of time as did the first group. However it is also evident that not all members of a group will improve to the same extent, and it is more than likely that other results e.g. family background, length of time in the institution, etiology of the mental deficiency, establishment of rapport with group instructor, etc. play a part. Although more sophisticated ways of measuring improvement in social behaviour are obviously called for, the scales used in this survey were nevertheless found to be practical and useful. While further research using control groups is desirable, the exploratory approach used in this project seems to indicate fairly definitely, that severely retarded individuals can improve in their behavioural characteristics as a result of the experience of working in a group program.

Table 24. – Group Score on Behaviour: – Aggressive Behaviour Scale

Group	(N)	Onset	End	Change
One	(8)	2.62	2.62	None
Two	(7)	8.0	6.0	25% decrease
Three	(10)	7.4	5.4	27% decrease
Four	(6)	2.0	0.83	58% decrease

Table 25. – Group Score on Behaviour: – Passive-Aggressive Behaviour Scale

Group	(N)	Onset	End	Change
One	(8)	7.5	4.9	35% decrease
Two	(7)	8.3	5.6	32% decrease
Three	(10)	8.6	5.7	34% decrease
Four	(6)	3.3	2.0	40% decrease

Table 26. – Group Score on Behaviour: – Withdrawal Behaviour Score

Group	(N)	Onset	End	Change
One	(8)	6.9	4.1	40% decrease
Two	(7)	9.6	6.2	34% decrease
Three	(10)	7.8	6.8	13% decrease
Four	(6)	7.2	7.7	7% increase

Table 27. – Group Score on Behaviour: – Prosocial Behaviour Scale

Group	(N)	Onset	End	Change
One	(8)	13.6	15.2	12% increase
Two	(7)	14.0	16.0	14% increase
Three	(10)	12.3	13.5	10% increase
Four	(6)	13.7	17.0	25% increase

Follow through after termination of the project

Both the concern for the trainees, and interest in continuation of the group approach made us pay special attention to the question of what would happen after termination of the work of the group instructors in December 1968. At the time of writing (September 1970) almost two years have elapsed since the project ended; a length of time sufficient to gauge the possibility of continuation of the group approach on a successful basis.

Kfar Nachman

One of the group instructors (A. Stroll) joined the permanent staff of the institution, maintaining a liaison and supplying monthly reports to the chief investigator during the year 1969. This instructor continued working with trainees in citriculture in Rishpon. A large group of about 16–18 trainees was set up based on trainees from the three groups that were active during the period of the research project. This large group has continued to work up until now with no difficulties whatsoever. They have become an accepted part of the labour force in the village, and with further experience and supervision, their productivity per trainee has even increased onver the past two years. Some members have since left and returned to work in the workshop area of the institution. What has been of interest is that new members (about 3–4 in number) who did not participate in the intensive social-consolidating group training during the period of the research project, have subsequently joined the group and have been successfully absorbed. It would seem that when the group of retardates is really well established, is working regularly, and functioning smoothly, then the group as a whole, together with the group instructor, can act as a therapeutic medium for the training and rehabilitation of new members. In other words, the established group members become auxilliary therapists, and help considerably in modifying the behaviour and increasing the work motivation of new members. This opens up an intriguing possibility that a well established group can act as a training group for others as well as functioning for the benefit of the veteran members. This possibility should be investigated through the carrying out of further research.

The urban group

When the instructor left, the director of the tree nursery of the National Park in Ramat Gan, agreed to continue to employ six of the members. Having become familiar with the trainees and their behaviour and work habits, he was willing to supervise their work himself, while maintaining contact for advice and help (if necessary) with the director of the Gil-Tushiya Sheltered Workshop.

Subsequently one member of the group who lived quite far away, in Petach Tikva, a town about 15 miles outside Tel Aviv and who had made outstanding progress, was accepted as a worker in the parks of his own town. He has continued to work there successfully, and has dropped contacts with the staff of Akim.

The five remaining members have continued working successfully at the nursery, and are paid through a contract with the Ramat Gan Municipality. No problems have occurred under this arrangement. The trainees come to the National Park from their homes by public transport and work until

3 p.m. Afterwards they travel to the Gil-Tushiya center, have lunch and participate in the afternoon instruction or recreation programs. They can be considered therefore as outside members of the Center, maintaining daily contact and benefitting from the services of the Center, while drawing all the benefits of outside work. One retardate, who had severe emotional problems has improved dramatically, and has reached eighty per cent productivity of a trained regular worker. Negotiations are under way to increase his salary in line with his higher productivity.

Many comments have been made by the Gil-Tushiya staff about the improved behavioural characters of the other four trainees in the group.

In Conclusion:

It can be said that the fact that two groups have continued to function, and improve, after the termination of the project indicates that the principle of a group approach to the rehabilitation of the severly retarded is a sound one, which can continue effectively as a daily practical arrangement, and not only under experimental conditions. The follow-up has encouraged us in the belief that the group technique can be applied to retardates, in various settings, and that it can act as a potent rehabilitative agent.

Research Utilisation

In recent years, more and more emphasis has been placed on utilising the experience gained in rehabilitation research project and spreading the findings of the project to as wide an audience as possible. This was especially pertinent with regard to this project, which in itself dealt with four small groups of retardates working in citriculture or in a park in a remote country such as Israel. We are especially indebted to S.R.S. staff in Washington and to "on-site" visitors sent by S.R.S. who immediately caught the implications of this work and were generous in providing financial and psychological support to as to ensure maximal coverage for the research project in the international field.

Movie: "Ordinary Work" (Akim)

In order to ensure that what is learned from the project will be passed on to others, visual records such as photographs, slides and 8 mm. colour movies have been accumulated and used for demonstration purposes. In 1968, S.R.S. allocated an extra budget for the making of a 16 mm. professional movie on the project. The movie entitled **"Ordinary Work"** (scripted and directed by Dr. E. Chigier) is 20 minutes long, in colour and with a commentary in English. A Hebrew edition has also been made for extensive use in Israel. The English edition is available on free loan from the International Activities Division, Social and Rehabilitation Services, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington D.C. 20201.

By the end of 1970, further copies should be available on loan from the following agencies.

"Rehabilitation International"
219 East 44th St., N.Y. 10017

National Association for Retarded Children (NARC)
420 Lexington Avenue, New York N.Y.

New York University, Film Library, New York

International League for Mental Deficiency
(Enquiries about purchase of copies should be sent to Dr. E. Chigier, Akim, 16 Bialik St., Tel Aviv, Israel).

This movie has proved to be an effective and powerful vehicle for demonstrating the findings of the project, and has been extensively used as part of teaching presentations on the subject.

International Presentations (Lecture, usually with movie)

Congress of International League for Mental Deficiency, Jerusalem, Israel, 1968.

British Seminar on Social Psychiatry, Natanya, Israel, 1969.

International Congress on Scientific Study of Mental Deficiency, Montpellier, France, 1967.

International Seminar on Special Education, Cork Ireland, 1969.

International Congress on Rehabilitation of the Disabled, Dublin, Ireland, 1969.

Presentation at W.H.O. Geneva, Switzerland, 1970.

International Rehabilitation Congress, Teheran, Iran 1970.

International Seminar on Special Education, Malmo, Sweden 1970.

Presentations in Israel

These have had a wide range. They include 8 presentations to staff and branches of Akim, two presentations under the auspices of U.S. Information Services, eighteen presentations to doctors, nurses, psychologists, psychotherapists, physical education students, teachers in special education and directors and instructors at mental retardation institutions and five presentations to high school students. The project has also received coverage in a number of newspaper articles, three radio interviews and one television presentation. Two booklets in Hebrew, and two in English describing the project have been widely distributed in Israel and abroad.

Presentations in the United States

In the fall of 1969, an extensive lecture tour was undertaken. Presentations were given at the following universities and institutions.

California State College Long Beach; California State College Los Angeles.

Children's Hospital Los Angeles; Mental Retardation Service Board Los Angeles.

Neuropsychiatric Institute Los Angeles; California State College San Francisco; University of California, Berkeley, School of Public Health, Berkeley.

Mental Retardation Branch, S R S. Washington D.C.

International Activities Division, S R S. Washington D.C.

Teachers College, Columbia University, New York;

School of Public Health, Columbia University; New York University.

Bancroft School for the Retarded, New Jersey.

Michigan State University; State Vocational Rehabilitation Service Michigan.

University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Michael Reese Hospital Chicago.

Brandeis University.

North Eastern University, Boston.

In addition, presentations have been given to N A R C. Executive Headquarters, Executive Headquarters, New York, International Society for Rehabilitation of the Disabled, New York, Exceptional Children's Foundation, Los Angeles, Council for Exceptional Children San Francisco, Council for Exceptional Children, Lansing, Michigan.

Seminars, Institutes, Workshops

With growing awareness of the project, there has been an increasing call for more intensive discussion of the project, its applications and implications through a workshop approach. During a visit to California State College, Long Beach as a distinguished visiting professor at summer school in 1970, lecturing in mental retardation and guidance and counselling for the handicapped, Dr. Chigier paid special attention to presenting the principles of group work with the mentally handicapped.

A one day seminar was held at the Ala Research Foundation on Mental Retardation, Uppsala Sweden in April 1969.

A two-day seminar was held in Oslo, Norway, June 1970, under the auspices of the Norwegian Association of Psychologists.

A two-day session workshop was held at Camarillo State Hospital, California July 1970.

A six-session workshop was held at Pacific State Hospital, Pomona, California in July 1970.

Negotiations are under way for further seminars in the United States, Denmark, and Sweden.

All the above mentioned seminars dealt with the theme of "Group Dynamics and the Mentally Retarded".

Conclusion

With the support of S.R.S. every effort has been made to carry the message of this project to mental retardation workers in Israel, Europe and America, and this effort is continuing, after termination of the project. If, by these efforts, other workers are moved to try and see for themselves how valuable a group approach can be with the mentally retarded (when applied correctly), then the chief investigator and the staff of this project will feel themselves well rewarded.

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PART TWO

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION

Introduction

How each group began

Progress of the first group

Progress of the second group

Progress of the third group

Physical Education

Results and achievements

"If we could start afresh"

How to succeed with the community

Parents of the retarded

Conclusions

Round Table Discussions:

In December 1968, as the research project was drawing to a close, the research director held a series of tape-recorded meetings with the four group instructors. An attempt was made to make a frank evaluation of the work done, and record the impressions of the staff at the time when the project was still very much part of their work, but was due to end very soon. The booklet recording this round-table discussion was distributed in Hebrew to workers in the field.

The positive response to the material has encouraged us to include this round-table discussion as part of the Final Report, in the hope that the live and frank discussion will add depth to the report, and will increase the understanding of the reader about the nature of the group work undertaken.

Participants:

E.C. – Dr. E. Chigier, Research director

M – Moshe Peter, group instructor of Group One

S – Avraham Stroll, group instructor of Group Two

G – Giora Kaller, group instructor of Group Three

I – Ilan Marmori, group instructor of Group Four

INTRODUCTION

E.C. In the discussion and summing-up of the work done with the four groups, I would like each one of you to deal with the following points:

1. The history of the groups.
2. Did the group concept achieve its purpose?
3. How the group functions today in the light of the aims and purposes of the group approach.
4. Choice of trainees for the group.
5. The ideal size of the group.
6. The nature of the activities carried out to prepare the group for productive work.
7. Agricultural work as a method of rehabilitation for groups of retarded, as compared to other forms of work.
8. The effect of the group on the individual retardate.
9. The community – the work done to prepare the community for absorption of the groups of retardates into the labour force, and the ongoing relationship between the community and the groups of retardates.

The procedure will be that we will take each of these points in turn. Each instructor will discuss the point in relation to his experience with his own group, and then we will compare experiences from one group to another.

How each group began

E.C. "All beginnings are difficult" is a popular saying. So let us hear how each one began with his group –, starting with Moshe.

M. In May 1966, I was given a group of ten trainees. The group was a very heterogenous one, with mental ages ranging from three to eight years, and, chronological age ranging between 17 and 32 years. One trainee had cerebral palsy, two were mongols, two were severely emotionally distrubed (and when I mean severe I am referring to as compared to other residents at the institution) and only two had any idea of what agricultural work means. The staff of the institution, apart from the director, did not accept the research project with great enthusiasm, since we were a "foreign body" coming from the outside to work within the institution. This did not disturb us too much, but the atmosphere was not always cordial. We began without adequate equipment. We did not have any tools, and we did not have a club room to work in, something which was really necessary in the initial period. Another detrimental point I would like to mention was the residential accommodation. The trainees in my group were scattered through three dwellings, and there was nothing physically that could help to bring them together.

From the moment that I first gathered them together, I had to take each one out of his respective frame-work, each one who was living and working separately from the other. One worked in the fields, others in the workshop, while some did not work at all. Each had his own daily routine, and possibly some association with retardates who were not to be in the group program. In other words, we had to transfer them to a new setting, which was totally alien. The group concept of course, was completely incomprehensible.

E.C. I would like to ask a question. When you say that the trainees were in a previous frame-work, did you feel that the trainees themselves were conservative, and hesitant to enter into a new setting? Did you feel that they were reluctant to give up what they had in order to set up a relationship with a new instructor, new place of work and other unfamiliar trainees?

M: We have to bear in mind that we are dealing with severely retarded people, i.e. people who have extreme difficulties in adjusting to any anvironment, and even more so to change from a setting that is familiar, to one that is new. And as I have mentioned, the idea of a **group** was totally impossible for them to grasp.

In order to get the group idea to sink in, I began by working with sub-groups, starting off with pairs. Each trainee had a "buddy". The members of a pair had to help each other and be in some way reciprocally responsible, starting off from the morning. For instance in checking whether one had not forgotten his work-cap, breakfasting together, helping each other at a job. This worked very well in most cases. I thought that the next step would be four-somes and finally the group as a unit but in practice the middle stage was not necessary and we moved from "two-somes" to the group of ten over a period of two months.

Naturally, there was initially a general disinclination to engage in any kind of agricultural work. Apart from two of them, the rest did not know about working in the fields. They had no idea of basic items such as the function of tools, earth, water, growth – they were in total ignorance. Initially, we had some quite severe disciplinary problems, turning-up late, " out", or walking out on the group. It took almost three months until I could come to the institution in the morning and find nine out of the ten trainees sitting together and waiting for me at a pre-arranged point. This to me, meant that we now had a group.

E.C. Let us hear from Avraham, how he began with the **second group.**

S. My group began to get organised in the middle of October 1966. At the beginning I had eleven trainees, including one with cerebral palsy, two mongols, and one epileptic who was also severely emotionally disturbed. Mental age ranged from three to seven years. An interesting point about my group was that the mean verbal intelligence on psychological testing was 4.9 years and on performance the mean 3.8 years. There is quite a differential. Their poor ability on non-verbal tasks became very evident when we began motor activities with them. Thus the difficulties that I had were not so much with organising them as a group as with their poor motor function.

As for background only one had ever worked in agriculture. Most had never even worked, and had no idea at all as to what work as such meant. One of the trainees was simply incapable of any sort of work. He could not take a tool in his hand. His hand was always closed on a button, and otherwise did not function. He was 28 years old when we started the group, and had lived eighteen years in another institution. Thus all his life he had never used his hands or done anything productive. At the beginning we would start off in the morning with the group and at the first opportunity he would skip off and go to the synagogue where he would stay till the end of the day.

How did I organise them? When I came to Kfar Nachman I visited all those who were due to be members of my group. I spoke to each one individually. The next morning I gathered them together. They did not know how to sit together as a group. They did not understand why they were sitting together, and what the whole thing was about. I tried to explain them in theory, the idea of a group as a unit, and what a group can do effectively, but this was a total failure. So I thought of trying some concrete demonstrations. I brought the "donkey" used in physical education and asked each one to try and lift it. Naturally, none of them succeeded. Then I sent them in pairs to try and lift the "donkey". The pairs also did not succeed. Then I got a foursome to tackle the job and they succeeded.

E.C. Now that we have heard how the second group got started, let us move on to Giora who will tell us about how he got the **third group** started.

G. My group was set up at a time when new residents were being admitted to the institution. We wanted the exploit this opportunity and find out if the time taken to consolidate a group of retardates would be less, if the group was composed of retardates just arriving to the institution. The other two groups were composed of veterans who had to transfer from one setting in the institution to another, while my group was to consist of new residents who were being admitted from their homes to the institution. In other words, their adjustment to the institution would parallel their integration within the group. Also, on the basis of the experience gained with the two previous groups, we attempted to find out a little about how a group gets created through using some very simple techniques (This is discussed fully in chapter 4).

Due to the Six Day War in June 1967, the original idea to place them **immediately** into the group setting on admission to the institution could not be carried out, and the group was therefore set up two months later. However, since they had not been absorbed into any other frame work, I do not think this made very much difference. All the candidates for this group – the first five and later the rest – were keen to join the group. They had before them the example of the two veteran groups who were already going to work outside the institution and one group was already earning money. This point was very evident to the trainees in my group who also wanted to go out to work and earn money – so that all of them were motivated towards work. I also did not have any disciplinary problems with them. Perhaps I should point out that in general there were no aggressive tendencies in the group. They were not too difficult to handle, and I did not have any extreme examples, as was the case with the first two groups.

E.C. Do you think this just happened to be the case, or that the reason was that they were new residents to the institution, and still maintained the good habits acquired in their homes?

G. I think this was accidental. It was decided that all new admissions would come into a group if there was no severe physical disability, so that we automatically received the new cases irrespective of their background and home conditions. I think they just happened to be quieter types.

E.C. Were there any expressions of longing for home? After all, they came to the institution and to the group at almost the same time – so did the desire to be at home prevent successful integration into the group at all?

G. This was an acute problem with one of the trainees. He was twenty-two years old when he came to the institution, and until then he had never left his home. He was very tied to his parents, and initially he gave expression to this by going on hunger strikes and refusing to obey orders. This trainee stayed one year in the institution. At the beginning of July 1968 he went home on leave, and did not return to the institution.

E.C. So that he did not adapt to the institution as such.

G. No more than he adapted to the group.

Within one month, I completed absorbing the ten members of the group. Their mental age was relatively high, the mean mental age being 5.7 years, but their physical abilities were very low. One had a paralysed leg, followed polio-myelitis, two were spastic – one in a severe form. One trainee was very passive and quiet. He hardly used his voice, and "drew" words rather than spoke. One trainee was in a very poor physical condition. He was so weak that he could not muster up enough strength to clip an orange off the tree. Another trainee seemed to be quite disturbed. He frequently spoke of himself in the third person, especially when talking about the bad things he had done. It was as though he told on himself.

E.C. This need not be an emotional disturbance. It occurs with small children, and in this case may be related to his mental immaturity.

G. Perhaps, although it was very prominent with him, and did not occur with the other retardates. Finally, I should mention that I had one trainee with a mental age of 2 years 9 months. From the onset the psychologist recommended not placing him in the group. However, he was with us for a year and then left.

This then was the composition of the group. As I have mentioned, I did not have any great difficulties in getting the group going.

E.C. We can now go over to Ilan, and hear from him how the fourth group began.

I. The **fourth group**, differed from the other three groups in a number of ways.

a) The trainees lived in Tel Aviv or in its surrounding cities, in the homes of their parents.

b) They worked in a sheltered workshop before entering the group program.

c) The group work program chosen was not in agriculture but in the nursery of the National Park in Ramat Gan (i.e. only 6 miles from Tel Aviv).

This group began to meet in August 1967, but after two weeks I had to leave them for a month while on reserve military duty – so that the group only began to function from October 1967. Amongst the ten members of group there were two types – those with good potential and those who were problematic, who had been transferred from one instructor to another over many years in the sheltered workshop, without any success in controlling them. These latter trainees created some difficulties in the group, especially since we were an urban group, and spent a lot of time in the streets of the city.

At the beginning, I met with the parents of the trainees together with Rivka (the community worker for the project) and Reuben – the physical education instructor for the project. After meeting individually with the parents, where the purpose of the project was explained, a meeting of all parents was held for further elaboration of the aims and objects of the program. Incidentally, we used the 8 mm. movie films that were taken of the first two groups, and found them very suitable for demonstrating the group ideas to the parents. Although many parents agreed with the program, some parents were against their son's participation. We continued monthly meetings with the parents, which were supplemented by home visits where necessary.

When I began to work with the group, problems of discipline arose. They began with one trainee whose father objected to his son's participation in the project.

R.C. On what grounds?

I. There was another son in the family, who after completing army service received some agricultural training,but could not find suitable employment. However, much we tried to explain to the father that the problem was a different one with the son who was retarded, he could not accept the idea that his son even though retarded, should be engaged only in agricultural activities. Another reason was that the trainee after working for some time under an instructor in the sheltered workshop had reached a position of some authority in his work section, and was not keen to transfer to our group, with a consequent loss of status.

We had another trainee, a mongol, whose parents were willing for him to participate in our group program, but since he had recently been promoted to work in a more authoritative capacity, he did not want to stay in the group program.

I began to meet with the eight remaining members of the group in a ramshackle hut. We used the rehabilitation of the hut as a consolidating group activity. After basic cleaning, the group painted the hut, helped in the fixing of windows and electrical installation, and put up drawings of their own as decorations on the wall. This period of activity lasted for two weeks. The response was positive with reciprocal help given. The job of fixing up the hut acted as a social catalyst. It was a concrete short-term project which allowed them to be aware of their productivity and their progress from day to day. I feel that this was a most decisive factor in getting the group on its way to consolidation. After the room was ready for its multiple purposes, we continued with further social activities.

Progress of the first group

E.C. After hearing from each one of you about the initial start of the groups, we will now go into the development and progress of the first group, it being the most veteran of the four groups.

a) Initial activities

M. In the first stage we gathered together, and sat around and talked. Eight to ten people each morning, that got together with me and we talked on every subject under the sun, without any planned program. The purpose was to allow the trainees to express themselves, to permit them to be aware of the setting, to get a feel of the co-operative idea and the concepts of a relationship between one and another. Social activities also included easy things such as games, drawing, and learning about basic concepts such as water, earth, – natural growth concepts that were related to the work goals of the group. We did not get them involved in anything complex. We did not begin with any physical work that might be too difficult and thus put them off. We decided to plant a flower garden in a deserted piece of ground. We began by watering the ground, removing stones, levelling the earth, weeding and raking. Then we planted plants that we could transfer from somewhere else. The plants took to the new ground and thrived. The trainees tended and looked after the garden, and were very proud of their achievement. This was the first seed in planting the idea of work in a co-operative setting for the group. Of course, through this project, we learnt the order of doing things, and the order of work in fields, groves and gardens. As I have mentioned, they simply did not have a clue about agriculture and did not know what comes first – watering or pruning, planting or picking.

E.C. To that extent?

M. To them an orange grove meant the presence of oranges - nothing more. In the past they had climbed through the fences and picked oranges off the trees – and that was all they knew.

A little later I taught them about the significance of work in general, and why people get paid for work, and how people survive through working. In short the concept of working as a life-reality. He who does not work will have no place in society – partly because he will have no source of income to maintain himself, and partly because society will reject him.

E.C. Looking back, do you think they understood this? After all they were in a sheltered environment, which provides little motivation for work to the residents. There is no fear that he will be left without support, or without food and garments. I have heard that even Kibbutz children sometimes have difficulties in initially grasping monetary concepts since money is not

part of their everyday experiences. So that when you explained to the trainees who are in a closed setting and also retarded about work, and the value of money earned through work, do you think this had any value? Did they really catch on?

M. In general, and as an immediate answer I would say "Yes" and I will qualify this later when we come to analyse the achievements of the group.

A second stage was reached in which control difficulties began to disappear. Previous problems of getting together on time, finding the meeting place, and knowing what their program was to be; – all these began to fade. They began to know what to expect from their instructor, and what to expect from the other trainees – but not from the group as a group. Now they had a garden. One person alone could not have achieved this. Each one began to realise that his individual strength was limited, and that the strength of a group was much greater. The trainees began to be aware of the importance of each person in the group. In order that there should be a group, you need individuals, like a building is made up of bricks. Each person contributes to the welfare and pleasures of the group. There was more awareness of matters of general value to the group. To get an extra tool for a person began to mean that there was an extra tool for the group, not just specifically for that one person.

E.C. Did they call themselves a group; did they say they were "Moshe's group" or something like that?

M. At this stage, they began to do so. As much as I could discern by observing them, the setting was now that of a group. For instance if we sat down and someone was absent he was missing from the group. One had to go and call him. The entity without him was not complete – and this could be felt by the trainees.

Work outside the institution

M. For the initial experience of working in a grove, we approached a man from the co-operative village Rishpon by the name of Tamari, who agreed without compensation, of course, to offer his grove to us, to assume the risk (there were several risks), and to let us use the grove, which was very neglected, -- in order to clean up and develop his grove. Naturally, we were afraid that the trainees having had no prior knowledge of this kind of work, might cut down branches, or damage the fruit. It turned out, however, that the operation proved successful beyond expectation. They worked with care, first with more primitive tools, executing simpler operations but gradually I started to introduce more complicated tools for the execution of more delicate work. After the winter season during which we also did the picking in the villager's grove, the trainees more or less knew how to approach a grove, and what the job demanded from them. Moreover, the trainees' acquired to a certain extent some responsibility for the handling of the tools entrusted to them. I remember that when we purchased new clippers for fruit picking and brought them to the group and told them that we were about to reach the climax of grove work, i.e., picking, – the trainees viewed the clippers with awe and reverence. I prepared them weeks ahead towards the great event when they were about to receive tools that only a skilled labourer, an experienced worker can handle. The rest of the operations was much more simple, any worker is able to perform them, but this clipper is the thing that demands expert knowledge to a certain extent. When they took them into their hands they worked with real respect and awe for the tools. When one of the clippers got lost the entire group started to search for it. The clipper had not been lost by an individual; the whole group had lost it.

E.C. Did you do this on purpose or because of some belief of yours? I wonder if you did it for educational reasons in order to raise the tension in the face of a new challenge, or because you yourself saw it as their principal test, the ability to pick fruit?

M. I felt more than I knew that somehow the boys were lacking self-confidence. They understand their situation, they know that they are retarded, one less retarded and the other more retarded. According to their experience in town, or wherever they had lived, they came into contact with people who laughed at them. That is to say, they can handle a hoe, they can handle a rake but more than that they would not be able to accomplish. Here the first experiment was made to perform a specific kind of work with specific tools executed not by simple labourers alone, but by workers engaged in grove work for years, workers that can be trusted, and such work meant for them that they were creating a new image for themselves. They are no longer only retarded persons but are people who have reached the capability that arouses confidence.

E.C. If my understanding is correct, this was a mutual influence. Not only did you have a certain influence upon them in a certain direction, but you saw, felt, identified with their excitement in the face of a more skilled phase of work.

M. Yes, this was the case. During that period of "infiltration" into Rishpon, we became convinced that the trainees could adjust to the conditions of the environment, and were able to adapt themselves to a different, even novel reality. For instance when there is a "sharav" (hot east wind) – the work stops. With us there were no excuses: the work pushed everything aside. They went out to work every day with the exception, of course, of days on which ordinary people also don't go to work. On the days when people get up in the morning and leave their home to work in a grove our boys left too. Other workers also were employed in the groves, and if one of them came past the boys felt a qualm whenever they saw him or other strangers. Past experience had taught them that it might not be desirable to meet foreign people. At the beginning some quite characteristics reactions occurred, but the ice was gradually broken and the boys got accustomed to work among strangers, without any trouble. Hitches did occur. It happens with any job, even the simplest one, that one may reach a point, a situation where things do not proceed according to one's expectations. One expects to lop a tree of a certain size and one suddenly comes across a small tree or, perhaps, a tree which is different. For example, one works in a row of orange trees and one is suddenly faced with a poplar. What is to be done? We are dealing with retarded persons whose reactions are more mechanical, more automatic. One can easily imagine that when such a person comes across a small obstacle, he may not succeed to overcome it. He does not have the judgment to get around the obstacle. And obstacles existed. Certain persons stopped and simply waited for the instructor to come to their help. Other persons who possessed a higher sense of orientation, succeeded in coping with the problem. However, as time went on even the first-mentioned people acquired a measure of independence which enabled them to surmount a similar snag on the next occasion. That meant that they were not simple 'automats'.

E.C. They were able to learn from their previous experience. This is learning.

M. This does constitute learning. It is not a natural orientation.

E.C. He learns just as an animal is able to learn to adapt itself to certain conditions or to certain changes. This is a very important point – and possibly we will briefly refer to it later on – as regards type of work in agriculture. For agriculture, as you have mentioned it here, cannot be an identical, robot-like work. I hope that subsequently we will touch upon this matter from the point of view of selecting the proper kind of work for young men possessing the kind of handicaps we are discussing.

c) The group in the next stage

M. The next stage was the peak period in our activity. From the second year after our penetration to Rishpon, the trainees were embodied into a work system with everything that is implied herein. The social activity program was cut down to a minimum. On Friday or the day that parents visit (once in a fortnight), we would spend the morning hours, in sitting and

discussing the solution of problems which could not be solved in daily life because of the work. Apart from this, if there were no problems of rainy days in winter, we left every day for work without queries and answers, without disputes, without problems and disciplinary infractions. Production yield, constancy and quality of execution were, as a result of learning, infinitely higher than at the beginning, and approximately in the same period we reached 25 to 30 percent of those of a farm worker experienced in grove work. In general, it may be said that after a few months of work at Rishpon we reached the situation that we became part of the village's landscape, that is if people came across us in the grove it seemed quite natural that we should be working there. We became a group of workers from Kfar Nachman who worked in the groves of Rishpon and nobody had any objection against it. One member had some work to execute in his grove and he went to the labour centre and asked for a bunch of workers. We were the ones who went there and he asked no questions. He did not state that he was not interested in us, or that he wanted other people. The quality of the work was such that there was no objection whatsoever against us. That meant in most cases that the quality was superior to the quality of the work of a skilled labourer, and certainly the work was performed more smoothly than if it would have been done by other workers, not to speak of the trouble in hiring them.

During that period I limited my attendance as an instructor to the minimum possible, i.e. one or two visits per day or according to need. I would be beside them in the adjacent lot, observing their work and following their conversation during work. It happened several times that I did not visit them at all. I left them instructions on the previous day although the instructions were not demanded or required. They knew exactly what they had to do: They prepared their lunch by themselves, walked a distance of 3 kilometers from Kfar Nachman to the groves, arrived at the right lot allocated amid hundreds of dunams, executed the correct work required among the tens of operations which could have been performed in the grove and did it all satisfactorily. That meant that they reached the yield and the quality indicated without the supervision of an instructur.

We received our first wages and this was a great event in the life of the group. In view of the fact that our aim was group performance rather than encouragement of the individual, we purchased shared commodities: a radio receiving set, shaving outfit for the use of the group, ornamental articles for the rooms. It should be noted that during that same period we moved to common quarters and this fact contributed to the general atmosphere of collectivity.

E.C. When you said that they prepared their meals, did you mean to say that they prepared their lunch? Actually, didn't they receive food rations;putting them into their knapsacks?

M. At the beginning the driver of the institution used to take us in a van to the grove. Subsequently, when they got accustomed to proceed there by themselves on foot they used to prepare their meal in the morning. That meant that instructions were given to the kitchen the previous day to prepare the foods which were put by the boys into their knapsacks and they took their knapsacks along to the grove.

E.C. In addition to their work tools?

The work tools also. If we worked in the same lot a full week, we used to leave, the tools in the lot, taking along only the knapsacks. However, in general we did not work in one lot only, or we were engaged in various works or with different tools and in such cases the tools were taken out – and the tools were returned.

E.C. I wonder if they lost many tools.

M. Not many. Some tools got spoiled and there was a certain amount of depreciation, but I don't think they lost more tools than people lose pencils in an office.

S. With your group I had a problem with regard to the question of supervision. The trainees did not require close supervision that much, but the matter was important for the employer. One of the problems consisted in the demands raised by the man in charge about this.

M. The Rishpon labour centre was the one which demanded close and continuous supervision by the instructor during the work of the group in the grove. It should not be overlooked that a group of retarded persons stood opposite persons who had no idea whatsoever about this problem, a bunch of persons who had not had any previous connection at all with mental retardation. There was reluctance, fundamental reluctance, at the beginning about employing retarded people. After the ice was broken and they agreed to employ them in their private groves, they naturally insisted that at least one instructor should stay with them. Our luck was that at the beginning we worked in a shared grove of several hundred dunams which had a single work foreman and no individual farmers. Although the foreman did not easily agree to my request for a relaxation of supervision we somehow came to an understanding, at any rate more easily than with private grove owners. We agreed that I would come there once or twice per day, at fixed hours, to meet him for a talk in case some problem arose. However, as far as the trainees were concerned I was not in the grove alone and did everything independently. This was the peak period from the point of view of the group as a social body, as a joint force. However, it appeared to me that the ultimate objective might not be the creation of a closely knit group. I assumed the final aim was a more purposeful achievement, namely to try to find a possibility to rehabilitate individuals by agricultural work. With this view in mind we chose the group system to see to what extent it promoted the ability of the individual to be rehabilitated in working on a farm of a cooperative village.

d) The creation of work units

After working nearly two years towards final crystallization, I began trying to separate again all the lines uniting them, all the factors which make them into a group, in order to reach the same point with which we had started: a number of individuals. A number of individuals

now possessing more independence, possessing more physical strength, understanding work discipline, endowed with a method of work, endowed with the ability to reach an output, a known and constant yield, individuals who are familiar with the tools required for work in a grove and who are familiar with work arrangements.

How did I proceed? In the first place, instead of group labour I started to divide them into smaller teams, and to assign separate jobs to each team, on in a different lot than the one in which the other teams were working. The principal aim of this division was that instead of a single larger body the trainees should work in smaller groups but, for the time being, within the framework of the original group. We started to emphasize more and more individual output, the individual yield of each person. It should be remembered that until now the emphasis was on common output. I inaugurated a form of contract work. I allocated to each team a certain output, indicating that if the persons in the team complete the work allocation they would go home earlier leaving the other teams in the grove going on with the work. This was evidence for the individual that if he works faster, better, then he will earn more.

E.C. He would gain more time.

M. In their case it meant more leisure. I assume that in any other instance that can be translated into, wages.

E.C. How did you select the teams? Did you join the "weak" with the "strong"? What was the size of the team – pairs, threesomes, foursomes?

M. As regards size, I tried, of course, to mitigate the effects of a sharp transition from the group to the individual. We formed more or less teams of three or four persons. At first, no pairs and naturally no singles. As regards the second question, we recall that the entire group was not homogenous, and I am going to revert to this matter later on. This caused a great deal of trouble for me. I tried to form homogeneous teams, possessing more or less similar abilities for the execution of the same work. It is quite possible that from a physical point of view I joined the weak with the strong. Perhaps even from a mental point of view. However, as regards the work to be performed they were more or less on the same level. I want to stress again the importance of smoothing the transition from the general group to individual work. One can easily imagine what would have happened under piece-work if a strong person would be linked with a weaker one. Of course, the more productive person would have completed his job faster, would have left the weaker one behind and would have gone home. I was not interested in this development at this stage, therefore I formed teams in which the members had more or less equal abilities so that they should terminate their work simultaneously.

E.C. In order to avoid internal tension.

M. In order to prevent discrepancy within the small team. Naturally, from a practical point of view the difference was not great. One could have imagined that the weak teams always remained in the grove and continued to work. However, this was not the case. The weak teams received easier jobs, a smaller number of trees to work on so that my appraisal proved correct and the imbalance between the teams was prevented. At that time we abolished the common financial fund as a factor of unity, and opened individual accounts for each boy. The division of the earnings was carried out more or less by the common consent of all members of the group. When we began making purchases of commodities after the distribution of wages, we no longer bought articles for common use by the whole group but purchased only such goods that were intended for individual use: transistor radios, watches, shaving appliances.

e) Individual employment for trainees

I then tried to approach members of the cooperative village in order to sound out their reaction to the employment of boys individually in their groves. Until then they knew the group from a distance. On the other hand, I felt that the group included a good number of people who were able to work alone in a private grove, and that their output would be such as to satisfy their employers. However, I found that notwithstanding the fact that the group as such was known, the reluctance to hire them individually was greater than I expected. Apparently, the reason of their opposition was the fact that they had known about the presence of a supervising instructor, and they did not consider the existence of the group as their direct problem. They wanted good work and if they got it, they had no further claims. If the standard of execution was not satisfactory they could make claims against us, the supervisors. But to accept a retarded person individually, without an instructor – this they were unwilling to agree to.

E.C. Did this surprise you?

M. Yes, it did surprise me, for it had been my feeling that we had become part of the Rishpon landscape. I knew that we would encounter a lot of difficulties but I did not imagine that the difficulties would be so enormous, i.e. that such a large number of members in the co-operative village would be so much against employment on an individual basis, and to assuming the responsibility of hiring a retarded person for their farm.

E.C. In this matter, we are dealing with a sort of Rubicon, with a very pronounced limit. As long as the resident of the village, are aware of an address, of somebody who can take the responsibility, of somebody who can be approached in case of need, there should be no problems. But the moment that you, the instructor, place the responsibility upon the farmer so that he gets more involved, then this is an entirely different matter. This is not a quantitative difference, but an essential difference in the nature of the employer-worker relationship.

M. From the point of view of the community, this was the second stage that had to be overcome. It will be remembered that the first stage consisted in getting agreement about the employment of a group of retarded persons in their groves under the supervision of an instructor. The research team had to make some strenous efforts in order to succeed now I sought them out, and talked with them about hiring individual trainees. As mentioned previously, there was reluctance on the part of the people I approached However, it was again the same man, Tamari, who broke the ice as he did it at the beginning with the group employment. He agreed to accept a single retarded person for his farm, and not only for his grove but even for his private courtyard, with the idea that people would pass along and notice that the retardate was working in the garden without supervision, without an instructor, and would observe the quality of his work. In this connection, I didn't have the slightest doubt that just as there had been no complaints until now there would be no complaints in the future. I also felt that the residents of the village would be favourably impressed and would finally agree to do the same thing However, things did not happen exactly like this. I was under pressure, I was in a hurry. I wanted to achieve this task before the termination of the research, I wanted to see as many boys as possible employed individually in private farms. I tried to get in touch and convince additional farmers. I found one man who agreed to employ one trainee in his grove and he kept him for nearly two months. It turned out that he was not prepared to pay wages and we had a dispute despite the fact that from our point of view financial compensation was not a decisive factor. However, the trainee had to receive some sort of payment for his labour and I did not want to create a precedent in this respect. The farmer declared: "I will be a philanthropist by accepting a retarded person, this will be his recompense." The boy left the grove. I then approached other farmers and I finally found a young man who, after considerable pressure, agreed to take on a trainee. Already four or five months have passed since this retardate has been working for him without any supervision by my part. I see him only in the institution after the termination of his work, or when he leaves in the morning. This retardate (A.B.) works to the complete satisfaction of his employer and gets his wages. He works on piece work according to his output and the employer has no complaints. I considered this case as an initial achievement and went on looking for similar employment for additional retardates.

At present, we are in a situation where four of our boys have more or less "permanent jobs". As a matter of fact, one of them has no grove allocation but he is a capable worker and I am negotiating with several farmers in Rishpon to find an employment for him too. Among the ten with whom we started our research, there have remained three for whom we have to find a solution. These three could not find work as individuals in Rishpon either because they are physically unfit, or because they are feeble-minded or because of their outward appearance (Down's syndrome). Experience has convinced me that we will not succeed to find employment for them with private persons. One of them (S.P.) has cerebral palsy and walks with difficulty; it is heart-rending het he manages to walk six kilometers a day. It seems to me that this is too much of a strain despite the fact that he adapted himself very well to collective work and he is well integrated into the group. The second boy has a very low level of intelligence so that he will not be able to become employed, individually, on a private farm. At present,

officially he still belongs to the group, but he does not leave with us for the grove, and for the past three weeks he has been staying at the institution and working there. The third boy dropped out after approximately one year. He failed to establish any connection whatsoever with any of the trainees or with the instructor although occasionnaly he had lucid intervals. However, after strenuous work with him I determined that in this case nothing could be done, and therefore he remained in the institution, and dropped out of the group.

Thus, I hope that now with the end of the project, four or more trainees will continue working on an individual basis, and the rest will find some acceptable alternative.

[NOTE: This did not work out as hoped for by the group instructor. With the termination of the project these members joined the large continuation group.]

Progress of The Second Group:

E.C. We shall now ask Abraham Stroll to tell us about his experience with his group.

a) Initial Activities

S. To begin with I used to take them rambling a great deal. I wanted to get them out of the place. In fact, from the emotional point of view, many of my trainees were already outside the institution, because they didn't really belong to any framework. Although they ate and slept in the institution most of them were given no intensive employment. I talked with them a lot and was astonished to learn, that although most of them had been in the institution for a long time, and had come there from other institutions, they did not have the most elementary notion of **hygiene:** They did not know why one should wash, or how to wash, how or why we brush our teeth. They would go into the shower, turn on the water, and go out again and that was that. I simply began to teach them to wash. It took months. There were some who did not want to go into the shower at all.

M. That, by the way, is a rather fundamental difference in the method of working with the first two groups, because while you placed the emphasis mainly on treatment, I devoted more time and thought to instruction.

E.C. The question was brought up for discussion. Abraham brought the matter before me. I had to decide whether this was within our competence. The intention was to keep the treatment aspects separate from the educational-instructional aspects. But Abraham expressed his feelings on the subject and it was decided that he should handle that aspect too. This brought us to a question with regard to the personal care of the subject. Perhaps the group instructor's work should include this aspect too. At all events Abraham was permitted for a short time at least, to make this his business.

S. I considered it necessary to make this a part of their instruction, since by acquiring the habits of hygiene, they gained a feeling of belonging, and they had this much in common that at 3:30 p.m. they would go into the shower together.

E.C. In other words, cleanliness was a guided group activity.

S. It also contributed to our progress since "monitors" began to emerge and naturally accepted this role in other fields too, such as work, for example. Within the group it was they who taught their weaker comrades.

M. In other words there exists a correlation between the people who concerned themselves with promoting cleanliness and those who showed initiative in work.

E.C. I see that personal care was also a means in which a certain quality of leadership was found to exist. And I would like to come back to this. Those who set the tone – we shan't speak of leaders – are also the most advanced and the most cooperative. Thus all means are justified particularly if they produce a situation that make things easier for people.

S. With regard to hygiene, I also set the group a task, designed to foster unity. They would report to me: "Yesterday we washed, we brushed our teeth, we polished our shoes". Of course I stopped this after some time but the idea had taken root.. Perhaps not with polishing shoes, but with everything else. To this day they will come and tell me if someone does not brush his teeth in the morning or take a shower after work.

For a whole month I took them out to social activities designed to foster group unity. The boys themselves came to me and said: "If we are a research group like Moshe's, why don't we go out to work?". They began pressing to be allowed to do outside work.

E.C. Did they use the expression "research group"?

S. Yes, as an expression. They didn't understand the meaning but they used it as an expression.

M. They used it as a semantic symbol for what they most wanted to achieve – whether a "transistor" radio or anything else.

E.C. Did they ever ask why the special treatment, why they were chosen as a research group and why the others did not participate? Did they understand that it was because of deliberate outside intervention or did they take it as a sort of "Lottery prize"?

M. They did not ask any questions but they felt it as a certain privilege. This was ascertained other residents came to the instructors and asked why they were not included. "Why don't we belong to the research group?" The members of the research group felt the privilege to be a fortuitous one which it was better not to question, lest they forfeit it.

G. But I believe they felt they were a separate entity, something out of the ordinary. They may have noticed certain differences, because in other work groups, like the carpentry shop for example, the boys would work the whole week, while they were treated to social activities, rambles, games, drawing – things that other groups did not do. So that they felt themselves singled out.

b) Work outside the Institution

S. Their interest in outside work prompted me to try to find work for them. Of course I did not envisage anything serious and did not seek work far away from the institution. Near the institution there is an orange-grove. I asked the foreman to let them try and work there. We started work and of course it was a failure. Looking back, I am not sure whether the failure was due to objective causes, or whether it was because of one of the trainees (of whom I shall speak later) whose outbursts in the first place distracted the others' attention and in the second place prevented me from devoting myself to the group. Had it not been for him, the group might perhaps have made a little progress. The experience was unfortunate and perhaps even harmful, and we had to return to the institution and seek some work there. The management of the institution assigned us an area of about 1½ dunams. We laid the water-courses ourselves and got to work. Through the process of cultivation I began to teach them proper work habits, and the use of tools. I began to urge them to greater productivity. In this framework it was of course very difficult for them to notice any progress, because the field was limited. Part of our plan was to make a flower-garden but the intended area was taken for construction and we remained with our small plot. I again began to seek outside work. This was when the Givat idea was mooted. We approached the village secretariat and looked for someone who would be willing to employ the group on work in the orchard without pay. We were fortunate in finding someone who had a neglected orchard and who was happy to take us on. We pruned his young orchard and he was very satisfied. Of course the work proceeded very slowly but finally we finished it. He had another allotment in an older orchard, which was terribly neglected with some of the trees half dried out. We worked on this allotment almost half the summer. When we had finished – this was in early autumn – we were approached by another villager and we went to work on his allot-ment. The trainees already knew what to do. They were trained On the second day he came to visit us. While he was there one of his neighbours arrived and began saying: "Why do you take these people? Are you looking for a bargain? They will cause damage". I intervened and said: "What have you got to lose? If its no good you can come and prune it over. After all, you are not paying". I somehow managed to convince him. This neighbour would come along quite frequently and was gradually won over by watching the trainees until he became a real enthusiast and would express his amazement that retardates like these could do such work.

E.C. How long after the group was formed did you begin outside work?

S. Outside work commenced 7–8 months after the group was formed. We had already missed out on the fruit-picking season and it took some time until summer cultivations began and we found a place of work. When our work for the first employer was completed he came and presented us with a cheque for IL. 100 although it had been agreed that he would owe us no payment. The village secretary was delighted and it was agreed that since we were capable of pruning we would probably also be capable of picking and when the time came we would

be able to work in his village. When the season arrived I began to look around and paid one or two visits to the village. I said to the secretary: "We relied on your promise and have not looked for anything else". He replied "Its true that we have begun picking, but we have a regular team of pickers and we must supply them with work. If you can obtain extra containers – we might find some work for you".

I began to run around. I was given an address in Tel Aviv. I contacted the area co-ordinator and explained our problem. He gave me a note to the packing house to send us containers. I went to the secretary and told him everything had been arranged. But he said: "We have containers but we have no quota in the packing station. Perhaps you can arrange it?". I went back to the packing station and they issued the order for another fruit truck per day from Givat and then it transpired that the allotment holders had not given their consent. The orchards were not held in common and they were not prepared to deal with us.

Here I made use of some personal contacts and obtained work in Herzliya. But the work was not too well suited to the trainees since the grove was very old, and the trees were big and tall. The fruit began at a height of 1½–2 metres (4–6 feet) and they had to work with ladders. The supply of ladders was limited. What is interesting is that there were four trainees who were able to climb the ladders to the tree-tops at a height of 5–6 metres when the ladder was not even firmly held but just leaned against the tree. I would hold my breath when M. who is a C.P. would climb to the very top of the ladder to pick fruit. At first only two or three boys were prepared to climb. Gradually I got them all used to it and that was a great achievement. The boy who used to hold a button in his hand climbed only half-way up the ladder. He still works slowly because he is physically weak, but whatever he does is 100%. I was very reluctant to give him a cutter and let him pick fruit but once he caught on there was never any problem. His output was among the highest of the fruit pickers.

We did not manage a great deal throughout the season. I believe the group earned about IL. 700 during the picking season. Before we started on outside work I saw no way of holding S..., the disturbed boy. He caused demoralization in the group. They could not be taught anything because he left me no time to do anything but calm him. I would actually have to hold on to him physically the whole time. So he had to be taken out of the group. He was the first to leave us. During the summer we obtained jobs in groves and have been working ever since. The trainees worked well and their output was good and in 2½–3 months we managed to earn about IL. 800. The group is still working today. There are of course borderline cases who don't keep up with the rest, for various reasons.

E.C. Are they capable of working outside without supervision?

S. At no time have I left them on their own completely. I would go away for half a day. They went on working but output dropped. With regard to division of labour they are completely independent. I brought them to work, to the orchard, I explained to them what had to be done and they organized the work amongst themselves. Two sub-groups have emerged.

The better of the members undertook the more complicated jobs and the others the routine work. They willingly accepted responsibility for their food, ordered it from the kitchen and shared it out without my being there at all.

M. About Givat how do you explain this affair, that they were not prepared to continue to employ you? Did the villagers know about the results of your work in pruning of the first allotment?

S. No, they did not know about our work.

M. Didn't they know about that particular allotment before?

S. I shall have to go back a little. There are certain radical differences between Givat and any other moshav. Givat is actually a sort of suburb of Raanana. It has forty-odd families each with an orchard allotment. But the members all work elsewhere. They are not farmers. They employ outside labour. The farm is a secondary interest, providing an auxiliary income. In addition, two of the local families have backward children of their own: one family has a child with severe retardation, who keeps to his bed in an institution. The second used to wander around the village but was an outcast. However, I believe that had we mounted an intensive information campaign in the village, we may have been able to achieve something. Although this is not something one can prove.

E.C. Had we mounted a campaign similar to the one in Rishpon, which itself was not a great deal perhaps we could have done something to advance our cause.

S. I put in a number of applications to hold an information meeting. But in Givat even the farm managers are not locals. There was no one to turn to.

M. Don't you think if you had taken two or three people, as a local committee, and let them tour the first orchard you pruned, so that they could see the difference from before your work and after...

S. They agreed about giving us work. But when the picking season arrived the villager concerned did not want to stay home and supervise us. It was not a commonly-owned orchard.

E.C. The structure of Givat is slightly different from that of Rishpon. There is a certain constellation of at least three factors: the general structure, the absence of a comprehensive information campaign and in addition a few cases of retarded children – which in addition to the negative image already perhaps existing – produce the difference between the two places. Hence we must deduce that a community information drive should precede and

accompany the trainees' work and round it off later. Undoubtedly this would be meaningful with small communities which are closed off to some extent. There is room for some quite intensive action, particularly if one has gained a foothold. If today we show a film of what was done in Rishpon people will say: "If that could be done in Rishpon, it can be done in other places, in our village". So that we are now in a situation in which we have something to show.

What would you say are the differences between your group and that of Moshe?

S. The general standard in my group was extremely low. My group had two capable people at the most, whereas Moshe's group had at least four.

E.C. They were challenged by the fact that Moshe's group was more successful.

S. Moshe's group had a great deal of influence. His work with his group, and the group life they were seen to lead had a considerable effect on my group. We had to proceed in the same way because my trainees demanded it.

E.C. They noticed that there was a difference. They were Avraham's group and the others were Moshe's group. Did they feel any sense of belonging, any relationship between trainees?

S. Like one family, – a "research group".

M. There was a strongly emphasised feeling of local-patriotism. One group gravitated to one instructor and the other group to another. They would not have agreed to change.

E.C. What you say is interesting, because what I meant to ask was: if anyone was a little upset with the group or the instructor, he could say: 'I'm going over to the other group.' Did this ever happen?

S. No, nothing like that ever happened.

G. We used it to exert pressure on the subject: "if you can't get on in my group I'll send you to the other" – this was a threat to the subject.

E.C. A threat, but no-one regarded it as a reward?

S. No, no. I have one boy (D.A.) who has a very low standard and is relatively new in the institution. He lived at home until the age of 18 and would roam around the streets all day. He can't sit still. At first I brought him to the group. He would participate for half an hour and then disappear. Today I have reached the point where if I tell him "You are not going out to work with me today" that is a punishment for him.

Progress of the Third Group

a) Initial Activities

G. After one month all my charges were absorbed in the group and as a result of seeing other groups working outside and earning money, they also wanted to be a research group, to work and earn. As I saw they might be capable of work, and there would be no problems of discipline, I decided to make an experiment. Another point – the first research group was under pressure of work, they simply had so many orders they could not meet all their commitments, and I received an offer to try and join this group in whitewashing trees in Rishpon. I decided to try, because there was no great danger, and so we went to work.

E.C. About how long was this after the group was first formed?

G. About a week. After the last two patients arrived from the Shikma Institution we went out for the first time. We started whitewashing trees. At first I did not want to let the group work too hard, I didn't want them to strain themselves, because they were not used to working, and I decided on a twice-weekly work outing. On other days they had gymnastics, rambles, social activities, art and group games. Until leaving for vacation, we continued going to work regularly, twice a week. We walked a distance of 3–4 kilometers. We regarded walking to work as an additional factor which might stress the coherence of the group: leaving the institution as a group and arriving at work as a group. We had to take with us the luncheon box packed in the institution and after a time – about six weeks after we started going to work – they themselves would arrange to take turns as to who should carry the luncheon box. Those who were physically very weak (the one with the paralysed leg and another who suffered from general weakness) were by common consent exempted and not asked to carry the box. But the members of the group themselves insisted that everyone who was able to do so should carry the box by turn: it belonged to them all and they all had to carry it.

b) Work outside the institution

After New Year, in September when they returned from vacation, I decided to find work in the vicinity of the institution. This was before the picking season, which was due to start in mid-December, but which actually began much later. First of all we enquire with Pardes Syndicate about their groves near the institution. The manager gave his consent in principle and directed us to the district supervisor. The supervisor also agreed in principle, but he was called up for reserves, and the man under him, who was supposed to induct us into work, said he could not do so. He had plenty of reasons and excuses – the picking season was late, he had to reach a certain norm and no more, he had a regular group of pickers who could not be fired, he could not pick more than he was permitted – so nothing came of it. As an alternative, we thought of working for another man who had groves near

the institution – but this plan also came to nothing. Finally we began picking for a private grove owner quite near the institution, but he was also limited as to the number of boxes he could pick. So we only had work for two days a week.

Since by this time the group was prepared to work more than two days a week, I went with them to Rishpon, one to two days on the average, to work on hoeing around the trees. This was an order that had been given immediately after the holiday and was still valid. I was not able to complete it, but on the days we were not fruit picking we went on with the hoeing. In other words, we worked in two places at the same time. The private farmer I mentioned has a grove of 20 dunams of Shamuti, Valencia oranges and grapefruit. He had an old grove requiring the use of tall ladders, and at first the group's output was two crates per day. This was because not all were able to pick, since picking could be done only by those who could stand on ladders, and at that time not everyone was able to climb a ladder. They were afraid to go up and the output was low. But towards the end of the work on the Shamuti oranges they were able to fill four crates a day. We also worked in a young grove nearby, picking grapefruit, and there of course output was double. They picked eight crates in less than a full day's work, because there wasn't any more fruit left to pick on that day.

E.C. What is the average of the ordinary agricultural labourer – how many crates?

G. The trade union norm is 2¾ but there are of course expert workers who reach 5 crates a day. That would be a skilled worker with many years' experience.

While we were picking for the man from Raanana, he asked us to work on hoeing the trees in his grove. I pointed out to the group that we were working in two places at once, but they regarded this nearby grove as "our" place of work. The job in Rishpon was to fill in the time and not lose days, but our place of work was in the grove near the institution.

c) Further developments

G. During the third period in which we worked, we began to work in various groves near the institution, for a total of nine grove-owners. For some of them we worked on more than one occasion because they gave us repeat orders. Things reached a point where they would simply phone the institution and ask me to come out with the group to an allotment and carry out a particular job.

E.C. How did they hear about the group?

G. When I was out rambling with the group near the institution, I would go into this or that allotment to find out who was the owner and explain the situation to him, and tell him

we're taking on jobs. I had already had experience of work in Rishpon and experience with picking, and apart from one or two owners who were not interested they all agreed to employ the group. Even the ones who were not interested did not, I think, have any objection in principle. It was just that at the time they had no need of an additional work force.

E.C. Did they inquire as to whether your group had worked elsewhere? Did they check on it, or did they merely accept your description and your offer?

G. They all accepted my description! Nobody tried to check, either with Rishpon or with the Raanana man, as far as I know.

E.C. Did you explain that your group consisted of retardates from the institution?

G. Of course! They all knew the institution. These groves are in the vicinity of the institution and they also knew the retardates. Not personally, that is, but they had seen them on rambles around the institution.

E.C. I have put all these questions like a "match-maker", so as to prepare both the "groom" and the "bride": the groom being our trainees and the bride being the employer. The question is how to prepare the grove-owner to accept the group. It has always been our impression, based on previous experience, that wherever there exists mistrust of the disturbed person, or the retarded, people would refuse to interest themselves. Now I am hearing something rather different. These people didn't care whether they employed Arabs, or retarded boys, or Chinamen. Do you think the confidence gained by the group, expressed as you have described it, had any effect, or were these people merely looking for working hands?

G. It wasn't that the grove-owner was looking for hands. It was I who tried to persuade him to take our group on. I came and asked if he needed any work done and explained the situation. He did not come to me asking for help. I didn't have to work hard to persuade him. The first person we worked for thought he could employ the fellows at a very low rate, and in fact paid very little. He treated us as a cheap labour force and that was what attracted him – the economic consideration.

S. There is another point here. All the grove-owners from whom Giora was able to obtain work knew all about the retarded trainees. They were always to be seen around Kfar Nahman, it wasn't just something they had heard of in theory. They also saw retardates who worked for farmers in the neighbourhood. So that the situation was completely different from Rishpon or Givat, where they knew nothing about them. The "image" was a completely negative one.

M. I think the main problem here was that of the retarded person in the private domain, more than the quality of his work. That is what we learned first. There were a number of

matchmakers in this "wedding", like the group from the institution that worked for the Raanana man, or from time to time in local groves. People knew them because their paths crossed, and they also met people from Rishpon, or someone who would give them the necessary information. In other words they had got over that initial horror of the retarded person that people in Rishpon or Givat still had.

G. Another point. These people were rather remote from Givat or Rishpon and could not have heard much information from them. But amongst themselves they would talk of the possibility of hiring the group. Its true that nobody contacted me that I had not approached first, but people that I approached and made inquiries, said that they had already heard about the group, and were considering giving them employment.

E.C. Did they make the offer of employment conditional upon your being with the group the whole time?

G. No, not one of them.

E.C. That is an interesting point, because there are several stages in getting acquainted with the retarded person. At first there is total unwillingness, and then certain conditions are stipulated, and later on those too are dropped.

M. The question arises whether they would be prepared to allow retarded persons to work on their land without you, Giora. It may have been clear to them that mental defectives work with an instructor. In other words this is a point that did not come up at all. If you had sent the group to the grove, and let them work alone, would the employers have agreed?

G. That was something I did from time to time. The grove-owner may not have known about it.

E.C. They may simply have regarded it as the accepted thing. It may be that they did not stress this demand because they understood the procedure to be such.

G. I must add one thing. The man we worked for during the picking season insisted that I be with the group in the field. This is understandable because picking is a question of output and he had to meet his quota.

E.C. He had had some bitter experience with some young people from an institution for the disturbed and therefore demanded the presence of an instructor for the picking season.

S. Since you mention the point, I remember that in Givat they were also confused as to the difference between our trainees and those of the institution for the emotionally disturbed.

E.C. That is not surprising because until a short time ago the mental defective was regarded as belonging to the group of the disturbed. In the history of legislation for the protection of the retarded, only during the past few decades has any distinction been drawn between the alienated and the mentally defective. They were regarded as one group.

G. We worked for various orchard-growers in the vicinity of the institution and did various jobs other than pruning. I think the reason is that most of the orchards are very young and do not need pruning. But we cleaned around trees, dug water basins, hoeing, mounts for grafting etc.

During this entire period the group earned a sum of about IL. 1,860, perhaps a little more. We saw that we had under-estimated. It was found to be neither possible nor desirable to distribute wages as such, to give as such, to give them immediate satisfaction for their work. But I tried to do something which would give them the illusion of receiving wages. At the end of every week, during the group discussion, we talked about the work we had done during the week, the various types of work, whether we had done it well or not, our output, and I reported to them that in the work we had done that week we had earned so and so much money. I calculated individual wages on the basis that each had earned IL. 2–3 per week, and the sum was to be accredited to him. They were not actually given the money, but they knew all the time how much money they had.

E.C. Did they remember the sum from one week to the next?

G. Those who understood, remembered.

At first we decided to establish a group fund like the other groups, but when I was about to distribute wages for the secomd time, other groups were receiving various things in lieu of wages: transistor radios, electric razors etc. The money from their wages would not have been enough to buy them these things. Together with the group we decided to give up some joint project so that instead they could receive some return for their work. I could have waited with this decision until the next vacation, but that would have deferred the matter for so long that it would all have appeared too remote. We therefore decided to relinquish the group fund – although one of the group was opposed and wanted to have a group fund, so as to buy things for the members.

Another point I wanted to make with regard to my group is the question of separate living quarters. The other groups were given living quarters in the newly erected building. Each group occupied two adjoining rooms, five to a room. This was not possible for my group since all the houses were full when they came to us, and part of the group lived in the big house and part in the pavilion with 20 others. I think this was somewhat detrimental to the consolidation of the group. Of course if they live together they are better consolidated as a

group. The last point I want to mention is this: I appointed each member in turn as group leader. I though that a period as group leader would prove beneficial for some of them and in fact it did a great deal for some of the boys. Others simply could not measure up to it and remained unaffected. They accepted the job but did nothing about it. I should mention that some were natural leaders, so that even if I had not appointed them group leaders, they probably would have assumed the position anyway.

Progress of the Fourth Group

E.C. Now we shall hear what Ilan has to tell us about his group.

I. As I have said my group was a city group. Once our hut was ready we got down to the question of social group co-hesiveness. This took the form of frequent rambles and we had to go for quite a distance because at first I was not interested to have them walking around the town. We had to go further, outside of Tel Aviv, concentrating mainly on the subject of agriculture. We went to a lot of parks in the north, around the Yarkon river, and there were general discussions on water, its use in agriculture etc. We walked around private gardens and yards and watched gardeners at work. We particularly looked for public gardens and after each walk the members had to say exactly where we had been and what they had noticed about the work of the labourers in the landscape gardens. Problems arose of help to the less capable and I found that many members showed a positive response to mutual assistance. In addition to our rambles we engaged in group games and in drawing. At first the subject matter of the drawing was free, and later this was connected with agriculture. That is a general outline on the subject of social consolidation.

Before going to work in the National Park in Ramat Gan we began to get to know the agricultural implements. At first I explained each implement in a short talk and told them to draw it. Everyone showed his powers of expression in drawing and some could be said to have hit the mark. We photographed the implements in the field. One man was using the hoe for weeding, another was raking, or loading with a pitchfork. With my explanation and the drawing they were able to remember it all in one picture. Also at that time we went out for the first time to work at the Spevack club in Ramat Gan. Our work consisted of weeding, raking, ground levelling, and we made maximal use of the "crude" agricultural tools. Without exception they all worked willingly. On that day we worked for four hours and then we stopped for a period of four weeks, until we began working in the National Park in Ramat Gan. During these four weeks they kept reminding me about the work in the Spevack Club and complained that they were no longer being taken there. They were deeply impressed with the idea of agriculture.

So we went to work in the tree nursery three times a week, four hours per day. Two days a week we spent at the Spevack club in sports activities and one day there were activities in class. I must remark on the responsiveness of the head nurserymen and the workers, who were most helpful although they knew little about mental retardation. On the first day we let the workers and the group get acquainted and did not work at all. We began work the next day. At first we had no contact with the labourers, even at meals or during breaks. We first got to know the tools, what each was for and what each could actually do. This lasted a month, and the group gradually got into a work routine. Their output in the nursery was quite reasonable, and afterwards, (this was during winter), the head nurseryman told me he had never had such a "clean" winter season as that year. So it seems that we made ourselves useful right at the start.

Later on we did practical work, and here I was unable to stress the social coherence of the group. What mattered was the profitability of the nursery. When we saw they were capable of more practical work, we split the group into two and threes and they had to be supervised closely by the labourers. Each labourer took with him two or three group members (there were three labourers) to work together with him, arranging or filling boxes, collecting seeds, leaving the nursery for the town, or to the park itself, transplanting from one box to another, (this was at a later stage) and then the actual planting. This was a conveyor belt display of what the group was able to produce in threes. The work demanded accuracy and the succeeded. Not all of them (but most of them) were successful.

After a temporary lapse during my absence on reserve service, the group reached a standard in which they were able to work as real labourers. We stopped the gymnastic days, although they used to talk about them a great deal; and began to work. I also stopped the Friday social activity. We started to work a 6-day week like ordinary labourers. The boys began to work at the nursery in floriculture. They got into the rythm of the work and worked very well.

M. Did you have any standard for measuring your output?

I. I had the standard of the workers themselves. According to the labourers, the group average was from 40–60% particularly in arranging and filling boxes.

M. How was the first encounter between your group and the other workers at the nursery? How did they regard your standard of performance and output professionally, irrespective of the personal approach to the retarded?

I. During the first month we had no contact with the workers. I asked them to give us a month to get acclimatized. Afterwards when we began working with the labourers, I must say that if one of our group made a mistake they would explain matters to him slowly and patiently until he could do the job well. The boys still carry out all the jobs there are in the nursery, including tree-shoots, which is quite complicated work using a pruning shears, and also actual planting.

Physical Education

E.C. Perhaps we should now discuss another aspect – that of physical education. What is your present view of Reuben Heller's program? Has it fitted in and contributed to the overall program or not? Was it too short or too long?

M. It certainly did contribute to group cohesion. The fact that they had a special instructor for physical education also promoted cohesion. Altogether, the very fact of there being a special instructor for the group, the purchase of equipment specifically for the group and living quarters which were slightly better than the others', because of items purchased by us, and a sports instructor and all the other goods bestowed on them, gave them a feeling of being a little better than the others. This of course did a lot for them – part of it was due to the sports program – in accelerating their emergence as a group. I do not know if the physical education as such was of any great value, mainly because we were engaged in agricultural work which demanded physical fitness and improved their physical ability. It would be difficult to give an accurate assessment of the contribution of physical education to group cohesion, but it was undoubtedly a contributing factor, besides preparing the group for physical work.

S. I think that physical education also made a very important contribution to their self-confidence, their personal courage, because a fellow who had to climb a tall ladder in an orchard would never have been able to do it, in my opinion, if his self-confidence had not been bolstered by lessons in gymnastics, somersaulitng, vaulting the horse etc.

M. I agree, but the gym lessons should have been carried on longer. To really develop self-confidence, more time should have been devoted to gymnastics. Training should either have been more intensive or more prolonged.

S. Also in the field of exercises designed to foster courage, some physical activities should have been reduced and others increased.

G. Another point: I think the group competitions also promoted physical training. Of course they took place at a later stage when the groups were well defined and could compete with one another, which stressed the group entity.

E.C. Physical education has a number of aims so that not all of them can be equally stressed. It is an interesting thought that since the emphasis was in any case on physical effort, on improving physical fitness, there may have been a relative excess of exercises designed to promote group cohesion, including social games in group sport, at the expense of developing self-confidence by various commando exercises and targets etc. What do you think, Ilan? Your group had a slightly different sports program.

I. The program was different, but I think that sport in general induces self-confidence. Simple exercises are actually a very small proportion of sports in general. In my group for example, balancing exercises, the work-out on the horse, the rambles on the banks of the Yarkon, with the depths of the river on the left and a fence on the right, were exercises in courage, and proved to be successful.

M. The exercise may have been more necessary to my group than to yours, because yours worked in the hothouse in the nursery, and mine were more concerned with heights and climbing ladders in the orchard.

E.C. What was the boys' attitude to the gymnastics program?

S. They were enthusiastic. It did a great deal for them. I.B., in my group, who had no self confidence, made excellent progress and did all the exercises as well as he possibly could. All the others were receptive and I think the physical education gave the trainees a lot.

Results and Achievements

E.C. We shall now go on to talk about the results of our work, and our achievements, if any. I suggest we again keep to our regular order.

a) First Group

M. In following up developments, and trying to evaluate, on the basis of the original situation, just how far we have progressed, what we have actually achieved – because the aim was to try and rehabilitate these people on private farms in agriculture, in the orchard – it must be said that these have learned to work. At first they were no work force, they did not know what work meant, didn't respect it, didn't understand it, didn't want it. Today, very broadly speaking and without going into details, these boys work and know how to work: For their mental standard they have reached utmost capacity. Today I can state with full assurance, that not a single one of this group is potentially capable of doing more than he actually does, or what he did at his peak. He has reached his peak. In this respect I have discovered that when I leave the research I am not leaving any loose ends. We have achieved the first aim to the utmost possible limit: they are in a condition to work, with the will to work, understanding of the meaning of work, and the regime of work.

E.C. Maximum exploitation of their work potential?

M. Yes. And speaking of group achievements, what is most remarkable is the independence the group has gained, in work and social matters. I can cite certain of the effects on the institution, how other people regard the matter. At a staff meeting not long ago complaints were voiced against the group, that the boys were allegedly shutting themselves up in their rooms in the evening and taking no interest in contact with other members of the institution, refusing to cooperate with them, either for social, cultural or entertainment activities. They are simply not prepared to pull their weight within the institution as a whole. This may reflect some discredit on the project as a whole, but certainly not on the members of the group. They were simply demonstrating their own group cohesiveness.

Nex point is that we managed to get a group of retarded boys into a private farming village. I don't know what this would mean to the man in the street, but if we recall the difficulties we encountered at the beginning, I am not at all sure that were it not for Mr. Tamari (who merits our eternal gratitude) we would have succeeded at all.

S. I quite agree with you on that point.

E.C. One way or another, we are now part of the Rishpon labour force. When Rishpon needs hands it applies to Kfar Nahman, institution for the retarded – which would have been unthinkable two years ago. It's a pity the original questionnaires contained no questions regarding the approach of the farmers on employing retarded persons in Rishpon.

I. When I was in Rishpon distributing questionnaires on the approach to the retarded person, I met a group of young men they told me the truth. They said: "Look, two or more years ago, we were the main opponents". One of them said: "I thought the group would never come, would never dare enter our groves. Today I am one of the main advocates on their behalf, I am willing for them to come to me". So I got a very definite picture, and this man was not the only one, of attitude "spread" from one house to the next. At first they were opposed in principle. Today, everyone wants the boys to work for him, a group or one of them. That proves how successfully we penetrated. Perhaps they were not given enough information before, because they said they would like to hear more about the subject. We told them we had short films and they said it was a great pity they were not shown to them before. They didn't know what a retarded person was. They thought it was someone rather repellent, whom they would not want in their company and who could only cause damage and do no good. To them he was something negative. Today the picture is different. They were all talking about it, from the new immigrants to the "sabras".

M. The significance of this is two-fold: first they accepted the retarded men themselves as workers in the village, alongside themselves, and are prepared to work with them, that is, they regard them as people. Secondly, it has been proved that the trainees are capable of doing the work of a labourer, and people are prepared to employ them in their groves because their standard of performance is good.

E.C. They have changed their previous attitude of regarding the retarded as scarcely human. They could see that this was a work force, real manpower. Hence, if this is manpower, it would seem they must be allowed to be like everyone else, and this is the result. These are not sentimental people. They are very pragmatic, and are interested mainly in the most practical aspects.

M. That reminds me that last week, an elderly man, a member of the village, came and asked me why we were not working for him. I advised him to apply to the work coordinator, who generally supplies us with work. When we finish our present jobs we would come to him. He said: "That is not fair. I contribute to the Association for the Rehabilitation of Retarded Children, I am just as entitled as anyone else. You do the work better than a labourer and I pay less. I run to look for a worker and he does me a big favour if he comes: demands social benefits, and so forth – why don't you come to me?" He was seriously complaining!...

E.C. In the answer to your question, Moshe, about the questionnaires, I agree with you and I'm sorry I did not include the question about employing retarded persons in the first round of the survey. I was rather afraid to ask, because the question itself might have aroused a defensive or negative response. It could have been taken to mean that we were about to take them by storm, and their objection to the idea might have become adamant. So I did not want to make them choose between a positive and a negative approach, because, especially in a small community such as this one, a question asked in one house will reverberate, possibly to the detriment of our chances of getting a foothold.

M. This seems a good place to cite another example about the group in Rishpon. Last year, after the picking season, there were few crates and little work, and workers were coming to Rishpon as usual, and I came as the representative of the group to try to find more work in picking. The workers were sent away, and our group was kept on alone to pick the fruit in the grove.

E.C. About how many workers were there?

M. About twenty.

E.C. Our group was taken **in preference** to twenty other men?

G. The more limited the work, the keener the choice. Out of the twenty you can pick an excellent worker.

E.C. That's it, you can choose the best worker out of the twenty, but they still chose our group rather than the best of the twenty workers.

M. We earned money too. We naturally did not work for nothing, even at first. Our earnings totalled about IL. 3,200 for four seasons of work.

E.C. How do you get to four seasons?

M. Two picking seasons and two other seasons in between. This is the fourth season, the last. We had an agreement with the institution to use 50% of the wages. Out of the 50%, half was a group fund. Before we began to set aside money for the fund we spent about IL. 1,000 on the needs of the group, and we have about IL. 500 left before we wind up.

These were the group's achievements. Of course there were also individual achievements. But I should like to hear any comments on the report so far.

E.C. I would like to ask a few questions. What was the effect on people's personal conduct? Perhaps you could say a few words on the period during which you were on sick leave, and also

about the war and the effect of the holidays on general developments. All three come under one heading – interruption in the continuity of work. To what extent and under what circumstances did they feel this? Was there any particular group feeling during these periods – any sense of collective responsibility? Thirdly, what was their attitude towards your completing your job, what did you do and how did they react? There are further questions such as bed-wetting, clothing etc. What is the evidence that the dispensing of medicines or the use of medicines has been reduced? All such things would be not inconsiderable achievements and are moreover measureable.

M. Some of what you said I have noted as comments, some I shall regard as questions requiring an answer. First of all, individual achievements, naming no names because these achievements were common to every individual member of the group. Firstly their self-confidence, their general independence improved. If they were fearful of doing or saying anything in company, they are now, those that still fear at all, much less apprehensive. They have proved their own ability to themselves. They didn't know exactly how far they would be able to advance – we have already touched on this point – they only knew that they were retarded, that for them there existed some general repudiation in this respect. They have proved to their own satisfaction, that they can be as good as anyone else in the grove, in picking or pruning. From this of course they derived inspiration for other things: "If I am no different here, then why should I be different walking in the street, going to a cinema or sitting watching a film?"

Although I did not follow this up personally, I have no doubt that their confidence was noticeable during holidays. I remember that during the first year parents would come and say "There has been some change in my boy, he is livelier, he laughs more, lets himself go more, generally feels better". In the institution – we have mentioned this also – the improvement was definitely felt. Perhaps not too favourably from the point of view of the institution, because they don't want to help in the kitchen, but they talk and act much more freely than before. They are better adapted to meet the demands of society, to live in society at large. Until a short time ago they didn't know the meaning of the term society. Perhaps they still do not know the real meaning of the word society, but they sense it more than before. They know there are certain laws governing society. There is a certain mutual consideration that must be respected, that must be borne in mind. There is the matter of mutual concession. Formerly, they had been very vague about this. Each one helped himself to as much as he could from the common platter. Today things are not so simple. He now knows that there are another three or four people at the table besides him and they must be allowed their share. He devotes a little thought to the subject.

S. About the sharing of food, don't they try for more than their fair share?

M. No one suffers discrimination, no one takes precedence over the others, and the effect is felt in other fields too.

G. Another point. If there is an extra portion they take turns. I'll take it today, tomorrow someone else will have it." The problem is automatically solved.

M. I'll continue. Physical fitness improved in every case. They were people who had not been used to physical work, weak people, who lacking habit or experience did not use the strength they had. Today they all look much better – more tanned, more muscular. They come across a stone and they know exactly how much strength will be needed to move it, and are confident of being equal to the task. They have developed their physical fitness.

Now we come to the direct influence on the individual of the group achievements, how our work affected the individual. About medicines, I know of two cases in the group who used to receive medicines daily. One of them until 18 months ago was receiving 50 grams of Mellaril 3 times a day. Now he only takes one tablet at night, and that too in my opinion is superfluous, since he sleeps well after his tiring work. The second was receiving, about the same time, "Tofranil", three times a day. Now he takes nothing. We had two people in the group who used to wet the bed, one of them (M.S.) almost every night; the other (M.L.) performed all his evacuations, in and out of bed, of in his clothing. The first has stopped wetting almost completely. In the second case, the subject hardly ever fouls his bed, but still does so when dressed although much more rarely than before.

One of the group, A.B., who has been working outside for four months on a private farm:· Was a very aggressive person, who could not bear the physical proximity of other people. In the sense of society, of mutual assistance,he was totally cut off from his surroundings. He was most egoistic. For example, during the first months, when we gathered at some place, he would never sit with the group but always at a distance of 5–6 m. If I told him to join us, to sit closer, the person beside him would receive a shove or a kick. He never sat between two people, that I ever saw. Today, on the few occasions when we do sit as a group, he still keeps to one side, but alongside the group, as a part of it. If I ask him, quite arbitrarily, to sit in the middle, he does not object and the people sitting beside him do not suffer. He is much less cut off and of course much less aggressive. I think this is also reflected in the behaviour questionnaires we filled out. The change in him has been quite extreme.

Then there is the case of D.C., a story in itself. One could spend hours discussing him. It's a good case to conclude with. I shall give you some of the facts of his background: broken family, parents separated for many years, mother slightly disturbed, father a very sick man. The subject never stuck to any kind of job. He would always back out of filling any obligation, either in society or in work. He would destroy or lose very expensive parts of the machines on which he worked. Incidentally, he has a relatively high I.Q., perhaps the highest in the group. He is also quite sly. Not so much because of his high I.Q. It is his character to find ways of doing damage, or profiting by having lost part of his machine so that he can stop work, or exploiting someone else to do his work for him. He would tear his clothes off. No article of clothing survived more than 48 hours on him. He would tear off the buttons: they had to be resewn once or twice a day. He would hide his underwear in the drains. He would get up in the morning stark naked, only with a blanket, no pillowcase, no sheet, no underwear, no

pyjamas – everything slung into some corner. He would frequently go about with shoelaces undone. He resented any restriction, any discipline, any imposition, any authority...

All this was completely foreign to him. Without going into detail as to what he underwent during the research period, I can state that he has not so much as torn off a button for a whole year. During twelve months not a single button has been missing from his clothes, not to mention the fact that he is now washed and clean, which he never was before. He is always fully clothed and his shoes are properly laced. Of course, at the beginning he did not want to work with us. Until the period when he left the group to work in the institution garden, he did work with us. Then he changed. One couldn't call his output high but he went to work with us each morning without argument. He was an organic part of the group. He went to work with us, worked to the best of his ability and upset no one. In other words he integrated into group life.

To conclude: looking back, the first thing to be noted is the conversion of a collection of retarded individuals, with nothing to bind them together, coming from different background, and who had never engaged in agricultural work, into sought-after agricultural workers. People know about them, have heard of them, are acquainted with them and want them. Today we have achieved partial rehabilitiation of some 40% of the members of the group. This is reckoning with four boys who are now at the stage of outside work, independent work for private farmers: three of them are already at work and the fourth has been asked for by a few farmers, so that there is a willingness in principle to employ him. [This could not be maintained after termination of the research project.] Today one can say that the potential of each member of the group is being exploited to the maximum, both on an individual basis and on the basis of contribution to the group cause. Each has received proof of what he can do, what he can achieve on his own, and what his own resources are.

Another very important point is the concept and acknowledgement of work as indispensible to life, which not one member of the group had realized before: Work is not just one more thing that has to be done during the day, but a man living in society must engage in some pursuit as protifable as possible and utilize his talents to the maximum. This much has reached them. What has not reached them is the concept of wages, or rather, the actual value of money, although they demand wages. They know they are entitled to payment for the work they do, which they did not understand previously when they worked for nothing, each in his place. Finally, each of them has to some extent been freed from his emotional disturbances, especially the extreme cases, and their self-confidence, their belief in themselves has been developed.

E.C. What were the achievements in your group, Stroll?

b) The Second Group

S. Apart from the disturbed boy I spoke of before, I had another, no less problematic case. This was I.B., who was then 18 years old. He came from a good home where his problems

were understood. Every effort and investment was made for his care. He had been with private institutions and with foster families. He was badly disturbed. This boy could not bear any clothes, he used to tear them. Any article of clothing that came his way he would tear, unravel, or slash. This evidently caused him some concern because afterwards he would try to conceal his handiwork with a needle and thread, and would sew up the torn garment. He had sores which he would never allow to heal. His whole body was a mass of sores. In addition he would spit on people or push them, and no one could stand beside him without getting a shove or a kick. He would take up his stand on the highest hill in the middle of the institution and curse every passing woman with every uncomplimentary epithet in his vocabulary. He never washed, he was always dirty, one could hardly look at him.

I realized that all these behaviour patterns could be traced to a specific motive. His dislike of women gave me food for thought. I investigated and found that he had hated his mother – quite uncompromisingly. I went to see the family and spoke with the mother. It transpired that formerly he had been kept at home and his mother had insisted that he begin to receive institutional treatment. He took this as a rejection and did everything he could to arouse attention. After his arrival in Kfar Nahman, a few months before I came, he had no visitors at all. I also contacted relatives in Dimona and Jerusalem. I asked them to come and visit, and send him letters and parcels. Gradually the boy relaxed and became a really positive element in the group. Above all at work: he became the worker of the group and remains so to this very day. His behaviour is much improved.

E.C. Did he receive drugs?

S. He received drugs but they did not help.

E.C. Is he still receiving drugs?

S. He has not taken any for over a year. Gradually, in order to build up his self-confidence I began to give him a position of responsibility in the group. He had always felt neglected, unwanted. I made him leader of the group. As such he was quite brilliant – inasmuch as anyone can be brilliant in this type of set-up. He took care of everyone, saw to the tools, made people wash and go to work, saw to the food supplies and the work roster. I could rely on him as on myself. Any task given to him he carried out 100%. Today one would not know he is the same person.

His mother and also various neighbours told me he had been the terror of the neighbourhood. No small girl dared play in the street as long as he was around because he would confront and swear at her. It was an absolute nightmare in the neighbourhood. When I visited six months after he had first come to me, during the Passover holidays, his mother said she simply did not know him. He was a different person, quiet, and relaxed. The neighbours were already sending their children out to play. He would run messages and help in the house. Altogether a different person, and still is...

I. Did he used to run away from the institution?

S. No. He had not the self-confidence to go outside the gate.

E.C. In other words his aggressiveness was both inward-directed (he would scratch himself and tear his clothes) and outward-directed. His outward aggression consisted in swearing and cursing at other people, and often physical insults.

M. How do you account for the change? Do you think it was because of your treatment of him?

S. I think the relationship he established with me was helpful. Secondly the relationship that I was able to create for him with other people. He trusted no one. If anyone told him that something was being done for his benefit he would call him a liar. He discovered for example that I brought his family to him, that they had not rejected him but cared about him. He was here because he was sick, he needed treatment and that was why he was in an institution. He wasn't here on account of being unwanted at home.

M. In other words he was not cured because of his contact with the others in the group?

S. I think it was due to personal care.

M. This is interesting. In the most difficult cases, like D.C. and I.B., it was the more concentrated, the more devoted individual care that brought results.

S. It would be difficult to assess how much weight to attach to each component of the treatment. I am sure the greatest weight is that of personal contact, and individual treatment. That was the main factor. But I am not sure. The group framework also gave him something, for he was able to express himself in it. He was able to be a leader, he was able to look after someone. Others had always been suppressed. Now he could tell other people what to do, and whatever he said, went.

M. Did he reveal initiative without your intervention?

S. Yes, he certainly showed initiative.

E.C. In other words, in a case like this, with the group serving as a background for work with a subject suffering from emotional disturbances, you have to do something special. If the subject belongs to the middle class, and has motivation and a university background, you can have him lie on a couch. He will talk and you will answer: a verbal and educational dialogue. Perhaps in this way something can be done with him. But when you are working with someone of a very low standard, this is out of the question. With children one uses play therapy. Even if

you wanted to take a retarded person for this, and tell him 'I'll give you some mud, I'll give you toys, break them, show me mother-father" – even though he is retarded and of a low cognitive ability, conceptually, often he will be sufficiently sensitive to say: "That is not for me, I am 18 years old. I am not going to play kids' games". So you must find some tool, some framework for his personal treatment. And this is the group itself. Even if it is not group treatment per se – and there are arguments over every aspect of group treatment – perhaps it is merely a framework that allows you to do something directly for the disturbed subject. Perhaps the group therapist is a kind of reflector, who can give to everyone and everyone can receive from him, but together they can work. Alone he cannot.

Another point. Your function, if you are treating a man face to face, is a little different than if you are treating him in a group. In a group you are more or less one of the group. You are exposed. You are more accessible and closer to a person. When you bring him into a formal framework – you are the person giving treatment. You are looking down from a certain height and not everyone in need of treatment is willing to accept such conditions. Thus there are people who claim that for environmental reasons the group is able to contribute – without going into the question of interreaction of members of the group upon each other making for mutual adjustment – on the basis of work with a group you have the setting, the "battlefield" suitable for confrontation with these problems. And here we have a perfect example.

S. This trainee used to have intensive bouts of masturbation. He would masturbate quite openly and speak about it uninhibitedly. This phenomenon has completely disappeared. During the past year I have not encountered a single instance of it.

E.C. What is interesting here is that most of his drives were inner-directed. He was occupied with himself, and it is possible that through the group he began to be occupied with external interests. Other people play a certain role here. It is known for example that the output of a labourer working alone may increase if he is allowed to work alongside three or four other people, without a formal group being created. A certain incentive is created without deliberate intervention.

S. This boy had no aspirations. He wanted nothing. "I am retarded, I am mad, I will die here, I am here to die." His brother had a motor-bike. He was unable to ride it but I began talking to him about a bicycle. During his first vacation he received a bicycle at home and began to ride. That gave him some occupation. He rode the bicycle, took it to pieces, put it together again. He began to take an interest in things. Various desires began to originate. It is interesting to note his reaction to the news that the research project was over and I was leaving. He did not know that I might be staying, and he said: "If you leave I don't want to go to outside work any more". (I had told them that I might be leaving but that some of them would continue to work outside). Now he wants to sit inside the institution. He is not

prepared to go outside and do hard work. And even when I told him a few days ago that I was staying, and asked what he thought of that, and whether he would go to work with me, he said: "No, no. I have decided. I've had enough. We have done the research and its over. If there is no research project I don't want to work". And he did not go to outside work. This afternoon he said to me: "I'll stay with you all the same". This was an outstanding example of improved behaviour.

I had another case of a boy who didn't improve to that extent, but did make some progress. A.B. was also very aggressive. He was relatively "intelligent", he realized his situation exactly. He knew he was backward and "good for nothing", and that it was not worth making any effort, and not worth working, because he was in any case in an institution. There was a period during which Moshe developed the idea that if some of the boys succeeded and made progress in the course of time, they could leave the institution when the research project was over.

M. Correction: I never told any member of the group, or of any other group, that we would find any solution for him outside of the institution. I said that those who succeeded would be found outside work with private employers.

S. At all events, they took it to mean that whoever succeeded would leave the institution. When this one felt there was some chance of leaving he began to improve. He began to work and was much less aggressive than before, because until then he hadn't wanted to work at all and would not put his hand to anything. But when he started to ask "When do I leave?" he somehow realized that he was not leaving and now he has had a relapse. Nevertheless he is much less aggressive.

E.C. How did the others react to the first case you cited, who used to create disturbances in the group? Did they take it calmly or did they want him out of the group?

S. As I mentioned before, the group was of a very low mental standard. Apart from these two, not one was of a standard to realise what made him different.

E.C. Perhaps that has its advantages.

S. A third case I want to talk about is that of M.A. He is an excellent fellow. When I accepted him into the group he was liked by them all. He liked everyone and they liked him. He likes to work in the kitchen and of course the staff took advantage of this. I did not see that it was possible for him to work in two places. He would work with me in one of the institution allotments until noon. At noon he would run to the kitchen and wash dishes until it was time to go to work again. Even then he did not know when to stop. I literally had to take him out and more than once I clashed with the kitchen staff. In the kitchen they used

to spoil him giving him sweets and things to eat so that he would work. I had to take him away. At first there was no noticeable difference. He worked all right, but in the course of time I noticed some withdrawal. He is much less active today than he was at the beginning. This may be the one case where there has been no progress. His removal from his former environment, has, probably, had a detrimental effect.

M. In the case of M.A. I think he achieved the peak of his personal potential in the kitchen, rather than in agriculture. In the kitchen he revealed his ability and found that he was needed. People regarded him as talented in the kitchen and this was not the case in agriculture.

S. In agriculture too. At first he used to work. He had the highest output. I was not sparing of praise and did not forget to single him out. However, I.B.'s progress(another trainee)may have been at his expense. It detracted from him. At first he was the star, now a new star had risen. Be that as it may, at fruit picking and on the first pruning job, he was very good. I never had to urge him on, or remind him to work. As well as he could he would manage without help. I began to notice the setback this summer. He began tc lag behind the others. He was still willing to work but for some reason his output dropped. As for the others in my group there is nothing to explain. They have remained the same as before. They have acquired work habits, and at present are unable to make much more progress.

E.C. Now we shall hear Giora's account of the achievements of the third group.

c) The Third Group

G. With regard to achievements and individual examples of improvement, there were, as I said before, no such dramatic improvements in my group. There was some improvement with S.C. while he was group leader, and even later on he was in a much better state than before and was prepared to cooperate and help a colleague. Before that, when the others were engaged on some job, he was willing to enjoy the fruits of their work but without undertaking the work itself.

Y.A. (I have mentioned him) who at first was weak and lacking in self-confidence – didn't talk to anyone, was introverted, made no attempt to establish contact was always serious and sad – has recently been smiling a great deal and has good relations with a number of residents of the institution. I think S.A. became quite attached to me and is rather sorry that I am leaving. This may be one of the reasons why today, that boy that was once so lacking in self-confidence, injured one of his peer-group on the head with a hatchet!

B.M., the one that I said had "schizophrenic tendencies", was very restless. He was unable to sit quietly in one place. He would roam around and sometimes run instead of walking. He was very strange, would make the oddest noises, was always dribbling at the mouth and had a permanent sore on his chin. All the odd noises and the involuntary movements have stopped almost completely, and his chin is now healed.

M.A. doesn't talk. He is somewhere else, I do not know quite where: Sometimes he smiles at a joke and I think he is with us, but it is difficult to be sure. He is remote and does not co-operate. I do not think the group has influenced him. He is quite apathetic about the group although he has the highest mental age, about 7–8 years. The psychologist said he could not determine his mental age, he could only assess it.

As for A.B., – sex was very important to him. Whatever he did he would some how get around to sex. This was most noticeable in his drawings. Today, this obsession is no longer expressed in his speech and behaviour as it once was. At one time he used to malinger, he would have headaches and not go to work. This has recently been happening much less. As for tablets, other than M.P. – in whom I have noticed no improvement (perhaps he is a little more relaxed, but that is something that cannot be measured), none of them ever received any tranquillisers. This fellow received 50 milligrams of Melril three times a day, and still does. He was very quiet, shy, very sensitive. He would regard a friendly touch as a murderous attack. He was afraid to go out of the institution for any distance, and the work at Rishpon at first may have upset him. I noticed a few times, when the group went for a walk, and we came to the railway lines at Rishpon, he simply would not cross the lines. When the whole group exhorted him to join them and not spoil the ramble, he would cross the lines, continue for about 10–20 meters, change his mind and hurry back to the institution. We would all have to go back. We used to work quite close to this railway, quite near his limit, and this may have been one of the reasons why he was unable to be quiet and relaxed, and would frequently return to the institution during work hours. I think it was simply difficult for him to be away from the institution, to be detached from the framework, and perhaps if we had kept to work only inside the institution there would have been some noticeable improvement. I believe that by taking him to work out of the institution, we nullified the effects of our work.

T.S., would always lag behind on the way to Rishpon. I think it was a mistake to bring him into the group because of his severe disability with his legs. He has not the control over the muscles of his soles to enable him to keep his balance, except with great difficulty. I think it was a mistake to take him such a long way away, but he wanted to be with us and would not relinquish his walk with the group, either to work or on rambles. He always claimed it was not hard for him to walk. Now he says he would like work at which he could be seated and I think he is right. This would be good for him because he has strong, "clever" hands.

S. Incidentally he said, in conversation with me, that he would very much like to go on working outside, but he cannot. He is aware of his disability and that is why he prefers to work indoors.

G. On the other hand we have M.P. who is also severely disabled, but although he knows he is destined to stay in the institution and engage in sedentary work, he is trying very hard to convince anyone who will listen that he will continue and manage to work outside. Although he is paralysed in one leg, which has been broken 11 times in 3 years, he is the star of the group. These fractures occurred before he came to the institution, and we were afraid to take him, in

case he broke his leg walking to work. He always walked with us to work and was the most outstanding worker. He is also the natural leader of the group. When we arrive at the allotment he divides the group into rows, tells them what to do and he himself does no less than the others. He even climbed a ladder with his paralysed leg. In the institution he has not broken his leg even once!

S. The exercise may have strengthened him.

d) Fourth Group

I. In my group, during the course of the research one member left and two others were taken out of the group by me. One of the group, A.C., whose father was in a mental hospital and whose mother worked as a charwoman, had a fairly high I.Q. he was fine, and a natural leader. When I was called up for reserves his brother took him to work with him in building. When he saw that as a labourer he was making IL.20 per day and that after a month in the group he was making only IL.10 per week, he said: "Why should I work with the group anyway?" His brother convinced him that he was not retarded and persuaded him to leave the group. The brother was such an important factor that they came to blows at home. We invited the brother for a number of talks but he never came. We went to see him and it transpired that he simply did not want the trainee to be in an institution. A.C. stopped coming altogether. He may have been right.

Another case was A.G. During the whole project I had the most serious disciplinary problems with him, in fact he was the chief trouble-maker. At first he used to interrupt during class talks and make himself a nuisance on rambles. The most severe punishment was not to be allowed to go bathing in the pool, but it did not help. We went to work with him and he made trouble. Complaints were arriving from parents of the other members who were afraid he would cause some damage. He was paired off with each member of the group by turn, but no one could get along with him. Without exception they all avoided him. Hence I had no alternative but to remove him.

The third person who had to be removed about two months ago was N.R., a mongoloid. He has an older brother at hime, a lawyer, and the parents thought their second son would be a rising genius. The parents were not college educated, and when it transpired that he was a mongoloid they rejected him. They were generally opposed to agricultural work, and were afraid something might happen to him as he had no self-confidence at all, and could do nothing for himself. We did not have much of an alternative. The brother was prepared to help, but after a time it became apparent that despite all his efforts the parents were putting a spoke in the wheel, and simply did not want the younger brother to succeed.

E.C. What were his chances of success within the group?

I. There was a good chance. He had made progress both in determination and in self-confidence. He had a fairly good potential as far as I could see, but no one talked to him at home and so he would sit for eight hours on end talking to himself nonstop. I asked his parents several times to take him on rambles or shopping expeditions, but they refused,since they were ashamed of him.

It was clear that in an urban group the most important factor is that of the home.

About six months after we began work I received a new member, S.N., who was so lacking in self-confidence that he was afraid to speak with his peers and his work output was low. He took no interest in anything. On the first day he did not want to work at all. I decided to give him a trial in the nursery, where he found another subject, a good member of the group, , and one of the few who made friends with him. Today, one simply would not know this person. He has the ability to express himself, has self-confidence in his work and in his contacts with his peer group and with the labourers. Until a few weeks ago he would not talk to them and was afraid even to work with them.

There were others who caused problems at the beginning. One of them was S.K., a mongoloid who from the first day constantly complained of pains. All the time he was in pain. It transpired that his parents were very old and sickly, and he would hear them complain of their pains and imitate them. I decided to make a sort of joke of it. He has a pain here, so have I, he has a pain there, so do I. Now the problem simply does not arise. Sometimes I want to remind him and he laughs. He only did it to get off work.

S. Or perhaps to attract attention.

I. No, as a matter of fact this boy was very alert, everyone liked him. On the contrary, his friends and the workers rejected him as soon as he began to complain of pains.

M. Perhaps he learned from experience. As he wasn't getting attention by complaining, he stopped.

I. Could be. I don't think it was a question of attracting attention, although I can't be sure.

There was another boy with an I.Q. of 55, very healthy, and the group was useful to him in the sense that he had a chance to develop his physical resources. He would disappear for a day to ten days, simply disappear, and however much I telephoned or visited his home – he did not turn up. After the boys received their wages at the beginning of the month he would disappear for a week with IL. 10 and no one knew where he used to go. It transpired that he used to go to daily cinema shows, sit there the whole day with his lunch bag until the first evening performance. He also liked to roam around. If there were no films to his liking that week he would march up and down Dizengoff Street* and get home at 6 p.m. At first I did not

* One of the main streets in Tel-Aviv.

know what to do with him. There was another factor – when he arrived home at 6 p.m. instead of 4 p.m. he would receive a beating and I felt sorry for him: He would be beaten with a stick or a belt. As I said, I visited his home two or three times a week to chat with the mother, the father and with him. I persuaded them not to use violence against him and strongly requested them to give him the maximum possible attention. About this time he became group leader and a responsible person, and took an interest in the job. I saw that the disappearances were stopping. He would make off after receiving his wages, not for a whole week, but only two or three days. On his return from his wanderings, instead of the usual beating he would receive from his father and mother a lecture as to why it was not good for him to roam around the streets too much. This course proved to be more beneficial. He now finds interest in his work, has a common language with workers and foremen. now he is treated by them in the way he wished to be treated before.

None of the other members of the group merit a special description.

I want to say a few words about tardiness. In an urban group, which is different from the other three groups, late arrival and absenteeism badly disrupts the daily routine. As far as wages were concerned they had been accustomed to receiving wages before, when they worked in industry. The research paid IL. 10 per subject, although now they are very disgruntled about this. They have been getting the same wages for a year and are demanding a rise.

E.C. I think your description brought out the essential difference between the groups. You had different conditions in which the young people also lived at home, but spent several hours as 'day boarders' and then there is the third factor that you had to work not only with the subjects themselves but also with the parents, and that does not always succeed. We do not retain control. During the day when the subject joins his group, he may be deeply affected by what he has absorbed at home, often to his detriment, because of the physical and mental deterioration taking place in the parents in some cases.

"If We Could Start Afresh"

M. Today, in the light of what has been said and the experience gained, if I were given a group, I would say that, to begin with, the group must be a homogenous one; homogenous in the sense of a certain standard of physical and mental ability. I would prefer that the mental age of the members of this group should be not lower than 4½ years. Chronological age I would fix quite arbitrarily at not more than 25 years. I noted that achievements, were more significant in persons of about 20 years, certainly when compared to the 30 years olds. (There was one man in my group aged 32.) A young person is more flexible, more malleable and is better able to acquire habits and more willing to learn. His behaviour patterns are not so rigid. The members of this "utopian group" should have at least a minimal fitness for work, should at least not include difficult cerebral palsy cases, and should be free of trainees with severe organic disturbances. I am thinking particularly of B.D., one of the trainees, although there were behaviour problems with others too. Severely disturbed people disrupt others, as well as themselves, and are prevented from overcoming their problems with themselves and their surroundings. As for the size of the group, a group of this kind should generally include nine to twelve members.

E.C. Talking of physical fitness, what was your impression of the mongoloids?

M. I think the mongoloid is a good subject, physically fit, with a reasonable grasp (again a question of mental age), with a will to work and can certainly be integrated into such a project. As to the activity range of such a group, I feel that within about 15 months, we could have reached more or less significant achievements, if we had had some previous accumulation of experience. In other words the project requires certain preconditions, and had we known this, we could have established them beforehand.

I would begin the project during the "dead season" for farming. This would be in about September, and this would be the time to work on group consolidation, which is impossible during the picking season for example. After this basic work of centralizing, of social crystallization and preparation, study of tools and the fundamentals of work – the group could begin fruit-picking which starts immediately after the dead season, in late December. After that, in spring, there is plenty of work to be done in the groves, a large variety of jobs which the group could learn. The height of summer would be the time to split up the group, in contrast to the original job of consolidation. At the same time we would have to find sources of employment for the autumn, contact members of the village, to meet them, in a planned, community forum, and decide who should work for whom. Individual work on private farms would begin in the following autumn, at the end of the season corresponding to when we first started. Work would be mainly in fruitpicking and there would be no difficulty in finding employment.

E.C. As things turned out, the fruit-picking came at the end of the "farm year" and was the crowning glory of their activities in the groves – from the point of view of their ability and the responsibility involved in the quality of the fruit itself. Don't you think it premature, that

the first group activity should be fruit-picking – in terms of ability and assumption of responsibility?

S. I have something to add. As the group takes shape in the autumn, contact with the community for obtaining work in fruit-picking sould also take place in the autumn. Because the community will of course have strong misgivings about accepting a group of retarded people for such responsible work, for fruit-picking, and at the same time the community has not got the background knowledge, the preparation. This is one point that merits some thought.

M. There are certain prior conditions, including the previous preparations of the community, by an information campaign and taking whatever steps are necessary for absorbing the group. With regard to fruit-picking, it is after all a fairly simple operation considering all the orchard jobs carried out by the group. In other words what was needed here was a cohesive group to perform this mass job, so that every individual should contribute to the overall group-project of fruit-picking. Picking is not the same as pruning, which is far more complex and requires a degree of expertise. I think fruit-picking exemplifies the nature of the grove more than any other job.

E. What I meant was not whether they were capable of doing the job, but whether the community, the employers, would be ready to accept them.

M. As I said, the community should be prepared beforehand.

I. They could begin with irrigation basins, go on to weeding, fertilizing, irrigating, "dry" pruning and only then get on to the fruit picking as the peak, don't you think? Wouldn't it be better to start at the bottom and work their way up?

M. When it comes to long-range planning for the future, our hands are tied. If we are going to repeat the project, we have three years to do it in. As we want to accelerate the process and give the maximum results as soon as possible, I would say it would be better to begin on fruit-picking, as this proved exhilerating and encouraging for the group and more than anything else contributed to the group welfare.

G. In respect of the group there are two points to be considered. Fruit-picking compared to pruning is a fairly simple responsibility. The question is whether a prior information campaign will be enough. I think people need to prove themselves on the job, and only once the villagers have seen them at work will they be prepared to accept them, as the survey showed. After all, they could cause irreparable damage to the fruit.

M. Of course we cannot rely on finding a man like Tamari in every village, to give us work in his orchard, with all the risks involved. What is necessary is to create the optimum conditions prior to employing the group in the groves, and then it does not matter whether it is irrigation basins, or pruning, or fruit-picking. If during the first day or two village work foremen find the fruit-picking to be outrageously bad and the damage considerable, they would of course put a stop to the group's work. It is a responsibility, mainly on the part of the instructor. Whatever the work program the task of preparing the group will take, I should say, about three months.

I. The first step is very difficult. To get straight down to profitable work. In Rishpon you had Tamari. In Givat you had no Tamari.

M. The information campaign in Givat may not have been sifficient. But even in Rishpon there was no comprehensive information campaign. The villagers did not know about us. Only the employers. I hope we will always be able to find someone who will agree to employ us in fruit-picking, perhaps with a little more emphasis on the correct information approach.

G. I rather think that in Rishpon, someone could have been found who would have agreed to employ us without pay at first. But with fruit-picking – I don't know if people would have been ready to accept us. I don't think it is such good timing to start straight off with fruit-picking.

S. My experience was that we started off in Givat in pruning and worked in a few orchards, altogether about 30 dunam. They were satisfied, there were no complaints, and it was decided to employ us on fruit-picking. But when picking season arrived, there was a certain hesitancy. In the end we were not employed in this work, and it was because of lack of preparation. The villagers were deterred by the very idea of retarded persons. Although we found someone here and there who was willing to risk taking us on for fruit-picking, because this involves not only quality but also output. There are days allocated for the packing house, and I have described what happened in this connection. At all events a prior condition for beginning any job is thorough preparation. One must find people who are willing to take a risk and employ the group. This is the only way to obtain a foothold.

G. Another point. In my opinion it is best not to begin on fruit picking, because the group themselves regard this as the big prize, and to start straight out with work which is pleasanter and also much more profitable is not so wise. It is better for them to begin work and progress towards fruit-picking for their own good. It should be something they have achieved. After fruit-picking any other job will appear to be a come-down. It will be less attractive and less profitable, for those who are able to grasp the difference.

M. I think that in Rishpon other people would have been willing to employ us on fruit-picking in their groves, if we had said that at first we would work without pay. It's true that fruit-picking should be the crowning point of their work in the orchard, but that is the instructor's worry. I taught them to regard it as the crowning point. We could have done the same with pruning; as a difficult, complex, professional job – this could have been the crowning point of work in the orchard instead of picking. No great importance attaches to what is regarded as the crowning point.

G. I think fruit-picking is pleasanter work than pruning. Not everyone can take part in pruning. In fruit picking they can see their output; they can see what they have picked.

M. On the other hand one might say that to begin with this type of work gives the group a greater incentive than, let us say, whitewashing.

E.C. Well, we have heard opinions for and against, and I think differences of opinion here healthy. I would like to take up another point you mentioned. You said it would take three months to weld the group together. But you were referring to an ideal group, a hono-geneous one, none of its members seriously disturbed, no physical disabilities and a mental age of not less than 4½ years. Would you need three months even for this ideal group?

M. I think not, in theory. I really do think that is a long time, relative to the other stages of rehabilitation. Here I would like to raise a point which I consider quite important when planning a projec with a group of this kind. The close supervision of the instructor should be removed as soon as possible. In other words the group and the individual should be encouraged to think for themselves as soon as possible, because we cannot take up a period of two and a half years and provide them with elementary working ability within a year and a half. If in our group we were able to do away with the instructor's supervision after a year and a half, we could, I feel, have done this in the first summer. I think we should let them go to work in the grove without an instructor, go out to work without an instructor and deal with whatever problems may crop up on their own.

"How to Succeed with the Community"

E.C. I have gone over the answers of the Rishpon people in the questionnaires you collected. A certain, faily large percentage, said they were prepared to employ the boys under conditions of supervision. Perhaps there was not sufficient supervision. Here too we encounter a situation which appears reasonable enough to us but too daring to others. The instructor, being wholly devoted to the aim of rehabilitation or the development of independence in these young people, takes a calculated risk, with reference to the activity of the group within the community at large. But there exists a certain gap between the instructor's view and that of the neighbour or the farmer. The question is, to what extent is it possible to force a person who does not regard the project from the viewpoint of rehabilitation of the retarded, who does not belong to our camp, to view the situation calmly?

S. In getting the community accustomed to employing retarded people we must make due allowance for their opinion. For their attitude is a basically sound one, a practical one. He does not reach an agreement with us – nor should we aspire to have him do so – solely out of a desire to help the retarded. He also calculates what benefit he stands to derive. Thus he is undoubtedly anxious about the results of the work and will insist on supervision to ensure better work and a higher output.

M. Early preparation is necessary. We must explain what the prospective employer faces, what a retarded person is, and not dwell on the concern for the results of the work of the retarded boy on his farm. People who have come into contacted with retarded boys – not indirect contact through the results of the work performed in their private orchard – but people who worked with them and came into daily contact, these people are no longer afraid to employ them on their farms, not only because they have found that no damage was done to the orchard, but because they now know that the retarded person is a human being like everyone else, with problems of his own.

I. In proof of that point, I spoke to the tractor driver who used to take the fruit out of Rishpon and he told me he had been one of the first to object in Rishpon, But after seeing them at work he thinks he is the chief advocate of accepting them for work.

M. That is not because they do such good work, but because he knows them as people.

E.C. If I understand you correctly, although the main theme of our negotiations has always been work, the risk involved and so on, you believe that if the stereotype image of the retarded person can be broken, – which is difficult and may indeed be feasible only through work and proof of the absence of risk – then we may be able to reach them. In other words, work quality and work productivity are a means to an end and not an end in themselves. But I think

that tactically or strategically speaking, there is no great difference. It's a question of philosophy, means or end. As to method, let us suppose we were to come without material, without evidence (we now have films, stories of farmers the boys have already worked for) to some new place, let us say near Beer Sheba, and we want to convince them that retarded people are not dangerous. I don't know how it could be done – through lectures? If you place too much emphasis on their not being dangerous, you may simply fortify your listeners in their idee fixe – if he talks so much in their favour and has set himself up as their defending counsel – there must be something the matter with them. If you walk down the street shouting "I'm not guilty, I'm perfectly innocent", you will not give the impression of being perfectly all right, but on the contrary, will arouse suspicion. So one must illustrate one's point by concrete proof of the work itself.

M. That sounds logical – work as proof that the retarded person is harmless. This is a means of reaching a member of a farming village where everything revolves around work. If they are all right in work it can be taken to mean that they are all right generally. But all this is not in contradiction to the idea of directing our information campaign in such a way that grove-owners should be brought to view their work without fear. Not that no damage could possibly be caused, but that these are people, responsible human beings and workers in their own world, without prejudice to the private world of the grove-owner.

S. That point is very true. In my own group, after I was unable to obtain work for them at Givat in fruit-picking I began to look around among my acquaintances, grove-owners in Herzliya, until I managed to persuade them to take them on trial. The foreman was present in the orchard, he made sure they were working, and we were given the same jobs as any other worker, although the fruit-picking was very complex and they had to climb ladders to a height of six to eight metres. He left them to this work without any preliminaries and without actually knowing them. It should be noted however, that this was not a community, but a private individual to whom I had access.

I. This does not solve our main problem – that of approaching the individual farmer as one of a larger community.

M. Speaking of prior conditions for creating a group I would like to make a point. When my group faced problems of consolidation, we should have tried to get them into common living quarters, so that our day-to-day work with them could carry-over to the evenings too. I personally found that group feeling was immeasurably improved as soon as we got into joint living quarters. This should also be a prior condition. A club for team activity is another must, which of course we did not have.

For this kind of group activity one should prepare the appropriate equipment and also places of work immediately after group consolidation. The problem caused us much perplexity and took up a lot of time, because we did not know we were going into Rishpon, we did not

know how to go about the matter, and if we had thrashed out this point beforehand we could have prepared places of employment to step into.

I now come to the question of community preparation. There may be objections, everyone has his own views. Naturally, it depends on the place where we intend to employ the group. But taking a place like Rishpon which is not ready, whose population, like any other, fears the encounter with the retarded, then the first step we must take, by way of basic preparation, is to organize general information evenings, to use the means at our disposal to try to explain the problem of the retarded in general so that they can get a closer glimpse of what they are undertaking.

E.C. In the information evening that did take place, how many villagers attended?

S. Fifty to sixty people. Less than a third of the members. But this meeting was not especially devoted to our cause, there were other items on the agenda. I could not tell whether they were particularly interested in our problem or not.

I. If you display a notice advertising a lecture on retarded people, no one will come.

M. Our subject can be included among others. In any case, after this basic evening, we must exert a more direct influence on the sources of employment, the work coordinators, people who supervise the work in the groves, we need to be in touch with them. They are the ones who decide the issue, not the individual farmer. He does not need to know whether or not the trainees are working in his particular grove. We must be in touch with these people, try to exert strong pressure and obtain work through them.

After we have begun work in the groves we could organize a tour for the villagers – we did not do this in Rishpon – to where the group is employed, to look over the work done, the quality, output, standard of performance, and thus they will get to know the retarded trainees through direct contact. We shall prove that the retarded person is a human being like anyone else, even when it comes to ability of performance and standard of performance.

In Rishpon we encountered reluctance on the part of the villagers to employ us in the groves, when it came to their own private grove, and not the common-owned groves. In one instance at least, we were told that this was because there was a teen-age daughter in the house, who would by no means agree that retarded people should work on their farm, because all the boys at school would laugh at her. This is a point that has to be considered as part of the whole complex that a man faces when employing retarded persons on his farm.

E.C. If the man had had a son instead of a daughter at that age, do you think he would still have objected?

M. Yes, it isn't a question of son or daughter, but of young people in general, who are far more sensitive to external matters. The fact that father employs a retarded person on his farm, when to be retarded is shameful, might, in the eyes of his peer-group, place that young person in a light unfavourable to his image: "My father can't employ an ordinary worker, he has to employ a retarded person."

E.C. In other words, you think the young person would regard a humanitarian act as something embarrassing.

I. I remember that in our village, about ten years ago, retarded people were employed. A farmer who did not employ one of these boys simply wasn't considered a farmer. They worked about the farmyard, and the children's attitude was quite different – we wanted to approach them but they would draw back.

S. I think you are mistaken. The people you employed were not retarded but emotionally disturbed. The Jewish Agency 'Youth Aliya' never handled retarded persons. They handled the uneducable and the disturbed.

M. The last stage in the conquest of the community, after obtaining work in the common orchards, is to find private farms to employ the trainees. The question could be brought up at a regular general meeting, when they are already acquainted with the problem and know what is to be expected when a retarded person is employed in a private orchard. We will presumably be able then to find volunteers to employ them, under certain conditions, on their farms. (In practice this did not work out.)

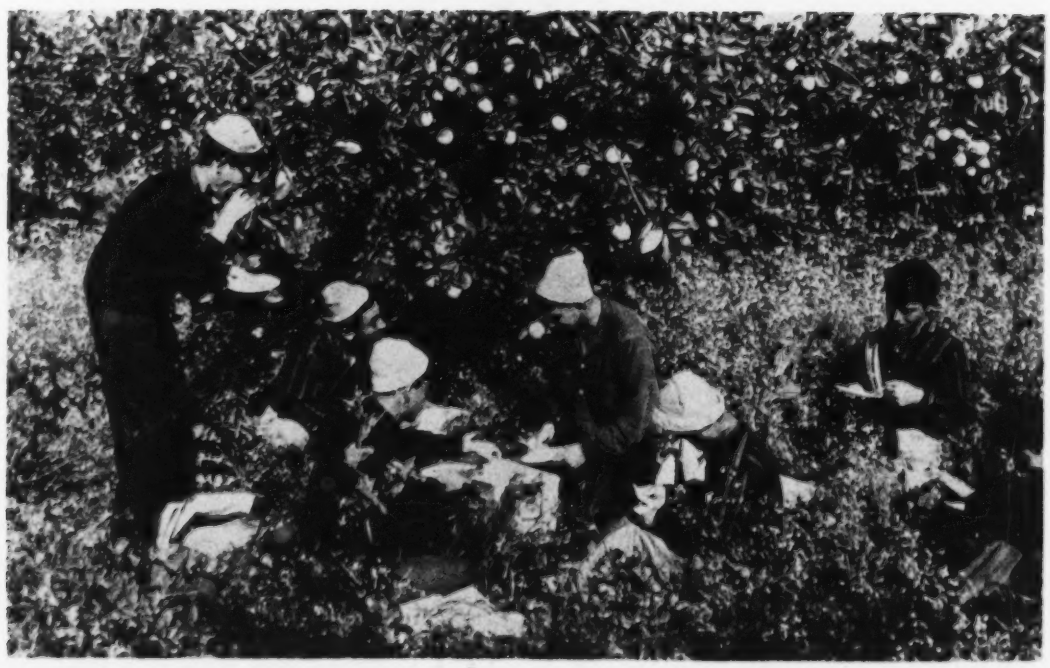
Parents of the Retarded

M. Another preliminary that has to be seen to when getting together a new group, is the preparation of the subjects' parents. In my group I first convened the parents and described to them the project that was to take place over the coming years. Then I met singly with key figures whom I considered essential to the success of our venture. But all this was not enough. Some of the parents had quite fundamental objections, because the project involved outside work. They either feared it would affect the boys' physical welfare, or else that they might cut loose and make for home – a suspicion which in individual cases proved to have been well-grounded. We might have been able to overcome these objections if we had been in closer contact with the parents and adopted a more convincing line in respect of what was, and what was not, good for their sons. If we had been able to convince them that outside group work would help their son more than it would hurt him, we might have obtained more encouragement and backing from them. In many cases they disrupted the smooth routine of work, by telling their boy to stay at home, in the institution, and of course he needed no further encouragement to do just that.

G. I think this is more a specific problem affecting your group, because in my group I did not encounter this difficulty with the parents. On the contrary, I think it depends on random selection of subjects for the group. You had more of the type that are hard to manage – three were truants – and I think the objections came from their parents. In Abraham's group and in mine the subjects were much more amenable and so were the parents. I did not undertake any large-scale information activity with the parents, and I encountered no opposition. I would meet with the parents on visiting days but I did not meet with them separately, and not one of them objected, except one worried mother. There was no opposition to their sons working outside the institution.

M. In my group a number of parents strongly opposed the idea and would do their best to sabotage it when visiting the institution, or when the boys went home on holiday. This finally had its effect on the group. There were occasions, after visiting day, when the trainees refused to go to work and had to be persuaded.

S. I can attest to the very opposite. In my group there was no opposition by the parents, and when I had to remove anyone from the group, for tactical considerations, parents would come to me complaining bitterly. They were interested that the boys should work. I am speaking of the group at the stage when it was consolidated.



Conclusions

M. Firstly, agriculture as a modus operandi, not an idea. I consider that this method had proved itself effective in every sense as a means of rehabilitation. The individual retarded case is given free space and air, whereas before he had some closed room sometimes in a dark basement.He also has an outlet for all his impulses and quirks. A good deal of his self-liberation may be credited to his having worked in the open air, outside, independently, with living things (a tree as rather than a machine). These are things of greater value to him, which means more to him. The work is no longer robot-like, or mechanical. It is work that satisfies many of the urges that a retardate has. As a result they develop the habit of thought, of solving problems, of overcoming obstacles encountered in the course of their work. In addition, there is a more variegated range of jobs, depending on the personal ability of each individual. Everyone found his place. It was not a mere job that one either could or could not perform. There was a very broad range of jobs to be performed at once. Each boy found his place. Agriculture shows how individual items combine into a single product. Each of them did his share towards the general output. There were easily discernible stages in turning out the finished product. If we take a climax like fruit-picking, there were clearly-defined stages preceding it: white-washing, pruning, irrigation, hoeing, weeding etc. Then, unlike the jobs they previously did, the retarded person can be integrated into other farms. In the work they were doing before the research project there was no chance of their ever going outside to be privately employed. Now they have this chance.

And lastly, the contact with strangers, which of course they did not have in any other work before. This may be more important than we estimate. The contact with strangers made them realize their own worth. Each one to a greater or lesser extent was aware of his problem, he knew he was retarded, different. I do not know how deeply this reached them, what it meant to them, but they felt that they were different, that they were not normal. The fact that he came into contact with strangers who did not reject him but accepted him, and he proved to himself and others that they needed him, gave him more importance in his own eyes and undoubtedly did much for his self-confidence and his feeling of independence.

E.C. I should like this information: what degree of contact was established, how many other workers did your group get to know, how many farmers, and with what degree of familiarity? Where they only known from a certain distance, as other people doing by chance the same work?

M. First and foremost they worked together with other workers, mainly doing fruit-picking, but also during routine work in the orange-groves throughout the year. They would meet someone irrigating, someone else pruning, another spreading fertilizer etc. There were no conflicts, no friction between them and these people, and this fact is more significant than anything else. They came into contact with the villagers themselves. Towards the end this became more

definite. People would come privately to the group and request their help on the farm. Once this was done through the work coordinator – people avoided direct contact with them – now they come with horse and cart, with the tractor, to visit us in the orange groves, to find us and ask for our help directly, and not through the work coordinator. Gradually the villagers have come to know the boys. They greet them, sometimes come to talk to them, establish close and direct contact, although they treat them rather indulgently, perhaps rather humorously, but certainly not roughly, and not with repulsion.

About this kind of work I might remark that it was once suggested that we should try to establish contact with animals. In my opinion, if we find in principle that work in the open air and space contributes to the rehabilitation of the retarded, then outside work with animals should do even more in this direction. Let us not forget that we are talking of direct contact between the retarded and the animals, instead of between the retardate and a tree. Here there is room for a very warm, a very close relationshiop that could not occur between a normal person and a retarded one, and this could give the individual retardate much more than work in an orange grove. In my opinion this method be examined, should there ever be another research project on the rehabilitation of the retarded. Rehabilitation might be speedier and more effective through creating a relationship with animals.

I want to touch on the question of the group idea for free debate. I do not know if the group idea has proved itself beyond a doubt. I mean not only the method of work, but the idea of rehabilitating the retarded person as an individual through the group, through everything that the social framework, group consolidation, mutual aid and concessions, can give him. The reason for the achievements we have just heard described, may have been on the one hand the advantage of our group over the rest of the institution at that time; or because their living quarters were a little better, because of these purchases, or because we engaged in outside work which was a great, and a very impressive, advantage over the other retardates in the institution who apparently would be staying there and not go outside for work. We should not forget that before the research project began there was a group working outside, a group of retardates of a much higher standard than average in the institution, and the fact that we too were going out seemed to put our trainees on a plane with that group, which we could not have equalled in any other aspect. Secondly, the instructor working with our groups was different from all other instructors in the institution in that he devoted himself exclusively to it, the entire responsibility for it devolved upon him and him alone. Of course the boys knew that this instructor did not belong to the general framework of the institution, and this in itself may have elevated them, in their own eyes, above the other residents. It was not, perhaps the group idea per se that gave them this feeling.

E.C. Here I would like to intervene. The group idea is not an abstract idea, it has its material appurtenances. You mentioned the appurtenances of the group idea. It seems to me that without there being the aim of creating such a group, there would have been no appurtenances. There would have been no special instructor, or special living quarters. It's like taking a beautiful girl apart and saying: "yes, she is pretty, but we will take the nose and the eyes –

those are the only beautiful parts. The general effect is the sum total of all these parts you have mentioned. The paraphernalia appears after someone has decided to do something on a group scale. It does not happen with an abstract group but with the reality of the group idea. The substance by itself could not have worked, it would not have emerged, I think, unless someone had the basic intention of forming a group.

G. These things are actually what distinguish the group from the other retardates of the institution. All these things can be used to define the group: "This group is a group that received all these things. This is the group that went to work outside the institution", etc.

M. I want to explain myself. There is this point to be considered: it is quite possible that the direct effort exerted towards the individual, would have done more towards his rehabilitation, would have perhaps spurred him to earlier and greater achievements. The question is whether the individual, with his instability, his type of disturbance, his dependence – whether he is influenced by the group, not as individuals but as a body in which he must play a part?

S. Was there no mutual influence?

M. Perhaps he was more influenced by the outside work in agriculture and by his permanently assigned instructor.

There was an interesting example. About two years ago I was called up on reserve duty for about a month. Of course the group had no instructor, but somehow managed with the assistance of another instructor. But during this period there was quite a steep decline in the group's ability, in everything that had been achieved until then.

All the component parts making up the group became almost totally disjointed. During my reserve service my physical absence deprived them of their common links, the axis around which the group might be thought to revolve. During the war on the other hand, although the group as a separate entity disintegrated (and intermingled with the other inmates) their instructor was present, and we found we had lost nothing. Indeed, when the group later reformed they were more enthusiastic, more high-spirited and more keen than ever to work outside.

E.C. I think it is a question of timing. During the period of group consolidation, the absence of the instructor may lead to total collapse. At a later stage the group as such is firmly established and there is no danger of collapse.

M. That is true. Of course, when I went on reserve service the group had not reached its peak of social cohesiveness. But the two instances of reserves duty and war were not so vastly separated in time.

E.C. What counts is not separation in time but what stage of development the group had reached.

S. From my personal experience during the war when I was away for a month, I afterwards noticed no disintegration of the group framework. I came back and found the group as before.

E.C. It is difficult to draw a comparison. The war was a situation in which we were all in the same boat so to speak. There are so many other factors to be taken into account. In fact the war reinforced the "group feeling" of the citizens of the country as a whole.

G. With reference to what Abraham said, about the influence of the group on the retarded person – I think this is measurable in terms of the following concept. At what point does the subject care about what his peers think of him? We can use this as our criterion of whether the group has or has not any influence on the individual. Group influence would be difficult to measure in any other way.

E.C. Giora, what do you think; was the group treatment effective because of the group, or was it the treatment itself, and the attention given?

G. As Abraham as already said, there are some people that the group will not help. Those who are likely to benefit from treatment are the disturbed, not the "purely retarded". Group treatment cannot raise the intellectual level. We cannot increase their I.Q. On the other hand, with the deeply disturbed, it is sometimes difficult to establish contact through the group.

M. Isn't it rather odd that the people who benefitted the most by the project were the most deeply disturbed? If we find a common denominator, we shall see that the trainees who suffered early family deprivation, a broken home or a disturbed mother, were the ones who most benefitted from the project. I think this is another proof that for them the instructor served as a sort of substitute, for father or mother or the whole family unit, an instrument for establishing the contact that had not previously existed. To establish contact with a group is, in respect of the retardate, a very difficult and very vague assignment, but this is not so with regard to the instructor.

S. Here I agree with Moshe, but I must say, that through the instructor they also establish contact with the group. So that the influence was a mutual one. It is a circle – the individual – the instructor – the group.

M. The group idea undoubtedly contributed to the situation we have reached today. However, we must bear in mind that the idea required a great deal of time and energy.

E.C. Today I met the psychologist. He said that one of the people he had examined, when asked what he was doing, had replied "I am in research. A research worker". The trainee explained that there had been a research project and that now it was over, the best ones would continue to work outside and the weaker ones would work in the carpentry shop. The psychologist asked him "What will you do?" and he said 'I like to work in carpentry'. Here there are two interesting points. First of all identification with our aim, and secondly the ability of a person of low intelligence to find a way to protect his personal prestinge. Even though he himself had said that the not-so-good would work at carpentry, when the intimate, personal question was asked he said "I p r e f e r to work in carpentry".

I have another, last question, which does not relate to the groups themselves. This is the question of your being employed as instructors. You all have one thing in common. None of you had previously worked with the retarded people. Another point – the policy of the research project was that every instructor who is given a group is responsible for it and must deal with whatever problems arise while I remain in the background, giving no direct instructions, and functioning only to help solve problems when they arise. As a method – was this successful or not? Should the training have been longer and the supervision more intensive? This is an important practical point.

M. I think that work of this type, because of the very nature of work with the retarded, should not be thought of in terms of youth work. Everything we had learned in the past either from experience or formal study about methods of working with youth, would not cover the case. Here it is more a question of the personal orientation of the instructor dealing with the retarded, and this was palpably felt, mainly when it came to establishing mutual contact between the disturbed person and the instructor. As to the second part of your question, the whole question of the hierarchy and status of the staff, related directly to this research project, I think was reasonable. After all, the person who came into direct contact with the boys was the instructor assigned to them. He knew them, he knew their problems, and if problems arose that were outside his competence, especially some severe emotional problems – if he needed more professional advice, I assume this was provided within a broader framework, with Dr. Chigier, As a method of work I think it was successful on the whole.

G. I did not have enough knowledge of retarded people when I came to work with them. There were things I did not understand and that I would have liked to understand. There are things that are still not quite clear to me, and I think that had I understood them I would have taken a different course of action in certain cases. It is simply necessary to have a better understanding of the subject, his motivation and hence to have more confident knowledge of what to do. As to supervision, perhaps I should have sought a little more advice, since I had no previous knowledge of work with such youths. I may have encountered difficulties because of this.

S. I am actually the only one to whom the work was not totally strange, because I had already worked with ineducable problem youth. I had no difficulty in working with the retarded and I was lucky to have a guideline from the field I specialized in before, care of the disturbed. The retardate himself is not a problem because he is raw material from which, if he has the qualities, one may develop potential. About supervision, I think the method used was the correct one. This was a research project and each case had to be dealt with on its own merits. Instructions could not be given – we had to solve the problems as they occurred. If necessary – we could seek advice, but in fact we were the first ones that had to cope with problems.

I. Several times I faced a dilemma – how to react to the behavioural disturbance, disciplinary or otherwise of one of the trainees. I had no one to consult with immediately. I found that my lack of experience and lack of knowledge with regard to the retarded subject, impeded me.

M. I should like to take this opportunity to mention the excellent cooperation on the part of Moshe Badichi, Director of the institution. He had certain reservations, about the project, and there were certainly some differences of opinion. He is to be congratulated on not having taken advantage of these differences of opinion or his disapproval of certain details in order to curtail our activity. Also to be noted, and with deep satisfaction, was the cooperation within the research team itself, and the mutual assistance we enjoyed throughout. I suppose everyone has felt this. It was good to work with these people and it was useful to work with them. Everything was done in the best spirit.

E.C. I think we all agree on that.

Finally, in your opinion, is the young man who is obliged to work outside with the group, possibly to come into confrontation with other workers and strangers, do you think is he happier or less happy in his relations with others?

I. At first my group felt themselves inferior to the other workers. Today, not at all. It should be remembered that mine was a town group.

S. I think that by outside work, by getting out of their routine institution of framework, they felt much better than before. This is indicated by the desire of most of them, especially those with the higher potential, to remain with the group, and to continue to work outside. .

G. The trainees wanted to work outside and they are proud of doing so. It was a kind of promotion for them. At first they did not come into much contact with other workers, but later, in the course of time, when they did come into contact, they greatly benefited from it: They saw they were capable of work and I think they were happier when outside, and working outside.

M. On the whole I think our role in this project was to give them greater happiness. Agricultural work allowed for a sublimation of impulses that we know many of them needed. They did not know this before, within the walls of the institution, when they sat and worked at the machines in the workshop. The institution did not supply them with the spiritual elevation they found in the fresh air and agricultural work. It is difficult to know whether they were happier as a result, but there is no doubt they are much more relaxed today than they were. They are much more disciplined. It is not so much that they accept authority, but that they act according to wiser rules, the same rules that govern our society.

E.C. In the course of our meetings we have discussed the beginnings, progress, and the achievements of all four groups from the point of view of the instructor of each group, while affording the other instructors a chance to comment. Finally we have tried to evaluate and analyse the research experience and to draw conclusions. I should add that the personal factor of the instructor himself has made a considerable and fundamental contribution to the success of this project, but that cannot be analysed here.

Your sincere comments, your efforts to interpret what happened in the course of your work, and your lively participation in all the discussions, have contributed a great deal.

I thank you all and wish you every success in the future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MEMBERS OF FOUR GROUPS IN PROJECT

Group One

Trainee	Chronological age	Mental age* (years–months)	Associated disability	Retest Mental age*	(32 months later)
Y.V.	20	3–0	Mongolism, strabismus	4–5	
M.S.	19	5–1	Enuresis	4–5	
M.L.	19	6–6	– –	6–6	
Z.P.	30	4–3	Mongolism	4–5	
P.L.	26	4–9	Mongolism	–	
S.H.	17	5–6	Asthma, epilepsy	–	
M.B.	22	3–6	– –	4–4	
D.C.	23	7–1	Cerebral palsy	6–3	
M.S.	20	5–2	Cerebral palsy	5–4	
A.B.	15	7–10	Emotional disturbance	8–1	
Y.B.D.	21	3–6	Behaviour disturbance	4–6	

* Stanford-Binet Test.

Group Two

Trainee	Chronological age	Mental age* (years–months)	Associated disability	Retest Mental age*	(27 months later)
M.S.	20	3–11	Epilepsy, Psychosis	hospitalised	
A.D.	19	4–7	– –	4–0	
Y.K.	18	4–0	– –	3–2	
P.E.	24	6–10	– –	6–5	
M.S.	20	4–8	Mongolism, strabismus	4–5	
I.B.	16	6–2	– –	6–0	
Z.H.	16	3–6	Mongolism	3–10	
A.B.	19	7–8	– –	7–8	
M.A.	21	5–8	Cerebral palsy	5–8	
E.Y.	19	7–6	– –	7–0	
A.W.	26	4–7	– –	4–9	

* Stanford-Binet Test.

Group Three

Trainee	Chronological age	Mental age* (years–months)	Associated disability	Retest Mental age*	(18 months later)
M.E.	18	7–8	Emotional disturbance	5–8	
S.C.	22	4–8	Cerebral palsy	–	
M.P.	20	5–6	– –	4–2	
G.Y.	17	2–9	– –	3–4	
M.M.	17	un-cooperative	– –	5–6	
Z.S.	21	6–1	Cerebral palsy, strabismus	5–8	
O.L.	27	6–6	– –	5–9	
A.B.	23	6–6	– –	6–2	
M.P.	19	6–8	Monoplegia (post-polio)	6–3	
Y.A.	17	6–10	– –	7–10	

* Stanford-Binet Test.

Group Four

Trainee	Chronological age	Mental age* (years–months)	Associated disability	Retest Mental age*	(15 months later)
C.A.	15	7–6	– –	–	
M.R.	21	5–0	Mongolism	–	
H.Z.	19	5–9	– –	6–0	
S.K.	20	5–0	Mongolism	4–6	
M.N.	20	un-cooperative	– –	4–4	
D.B.	16	5–8	Mongolism	5–6	
S.N.	18	un-cooperative	– –	5–4	
S.R.	18	7–9	– –	6–0	

* Stanford-Binet Test.

APPENDIX II

CASE EXAMPLES

Psychological Evaluation – Re-Test

(Group One)

T.P. Year of birth: 1936
Date of test: 14.11.68

Behaviour Observations

Tzvi entered the room constantly looking down at the floor, protruding tongue and cross eyed. He presented the typical mongoloid physical picture. His speech was confined to one or two word answers to specific questions. Perseveration was obvious in both his speech and behavior. Contamination of drawings was also evident. On the Bender ~~when~~ he drew a circle he began drawing a man, when he drew a square, he drew a house. Some echolalia was evident in his speech. He was cooperative and was able to follow simple instructions.

Findings and Interpretations

Tzvi is functioning at the 4 years 5 months level according to the Stanford-Binet (L.M.) (B.A. = 3 and half, Max. A. = 6.). He is able to fulfill the simplest of instructions and to exercise the minimum of abstract thinking. Concepts such as similarities and differences, counting, understanding of relationships and social orientation are not within his ability to execute.

The Bender is heavy in perseveration, inability to form angles, difficulty in connecting two different types of figures (curved and straight line, or crossed figures). Recall shows contamination, perseveration and stereotype of response.

Figure drawings are extremely regressive lacking in details such as fingers, neck, body etc.

Tzvi is capable of carrying out simple instructions especially those which are repeated and repetitious. He probably can learn to do specific simple tasks which do not demand independent decision making. Vocabulary is poor and Tzvi presents an overall picture of needing a great deal of supervision and encouragement with a minimum of demands.

Summary

Tzvi is currently functioning at the 4 years 5 months level as measured by the Stanford-Binet (L.M.). Evident in his behavior and test protocol is perseveration, contamination, stereotypy of response. He is able to follow simple instructions but needs to be guided and supervised and cannot be expected to make independent decisions, even of the simplest nature!

Psychological Evaluation – Re-Test

(Group Two)

U.W. Year of birth: 1939
Date of test: 5.12.68

Behaviour Observations

Uri entered the room smiling and talking. He said he knew what he was here for and was ready to work. When asked how old he was he replied 15. Throughout the test he remained happy and pleasant. At times he mumbled to himself but seemed to be in fairly good contact with his surroundings. He was cooperative throughout the test and although was somewhat impulsive, attempted to complete every task presented to him without a negative reaction

Findings and Interpretations

Uri earns a mental age of 4 years 9 months on the Stanford-Binet (L.M.). (B.A. = 4, M.A. = 7, I.Q. = 16). He is capable of performing very simple tasks such as following simple instructions, differentiating and identifying pictures, defining simple terms. The most abstract task he was able to handle was that of understanding the concept of opposites. He was not able to understand social relationships as explained in pictures or words, could not count past 3, was not able to understand the concept of similarites and differences, nor could he copy difficult figures

His performance on the Bender-Gestalt was also very distorted. There were problems of rotation, inability to form proper angles, contamination, lack of whole perception. Not one of the figures was adequately copied.

Uri did, however make an attempt to arrange his paper into an orderly approach. On the Recall he attempted to produce some of the figures but his responses were stereotyped and perseverative.

Figure drawings were extremely infantile and lacking in detail. The one obvious inference from the figure drawings is that Uri is both aware of and concerned with sexual functioning. He doesn't quite understand it but had an awareness of what is supposed to be and probably would be interested to learn, if given the chance.

Summary

Uri earns a mental age of 4 years 9 months on the Stanford Binet (L.M.). He is capable of completing simple tasks but was unable to count past three or understand social relationships or even concepts such as similarities and differences

His performance on the Bender-Gestalt makes an attempt at order but is extremely lacking in ability. Not one drawing is produced accurately and there are many errors such as difficulty with angles, rotation, inability to join two separate figures

Figure drawings are infantile and indicate a concern that Uri has for sexual functioning. He seems slightly confused about it but interested

Psychological Evaluation – Re-Test

(Group Three)

M.E. Year of birth: 1948
Date of test: 1 12 68

Behaviour Observations

Moti entered the room quietly, sat down and was seemingly staring into space When asked how old he was he replied "twelve" He spoke in a whisper all the time and said he could not speak any louder. He seemed to be in a constant state of strain and under pressure – his hand shook (left handed) he went over his drawings a number of times using a great deal of pressure on the pencil When offered a piece of cake he ate it with ferocity – even eating the crumb which fell onto the table Both in his speech and performance he perseverated severely For example what do we do with our eyes he said "speak" and said "speak" for every body part He worked slowly, had difficulty understanding what was requested of him and was negativistic His whispering, accompanied with a nervous cough (which is probably a tic), continued throughout the testing session

Findings and Interpretations

Moti achieves a mental age level of 5 years 2 months on the Stanford-Binet (L M) (B.A. = 3 and half, M A = 8, I.Q. = 25.) He appears to be severely disoriented both – socially and temporally. He can successfully complete simple, concrete tasks such as naming things and matching things But tasks requiring ability to abstract a principle from the general are difficult for him The ideas of differences, similarities, social obligations, simple problem solving and even counting are beyond his ability There are indications, however, that his potential is perhaps higher but because of emotional problems he cannot achieve at any higher level

His performance on the Bender-Gestalt indicates a higher ability than shown on the Stanford-Binet. He was able to adequately reproduce almost all of the drawings with the only major difficulty one of connecting two separate figures There was little order to his performance but he did not overlap or allow one drawing to contaminate another He used a great deal of pressure on his pencil and frequently went over the things he had done On the Recall, he perseverated and gave stereotpyed responses along with a great deal of going over (nervousness and depression)

The figure drawings were equally disturbing. They show a supressed anger and inability to relate at any meaningful level He is compulsive and involved with cleanliness. His whispering is perhaps his way of punishing others by demanding their ultimate attention and constant irritation with him His most meaningful relationship seems to have been with his mother, but this may have been colored by beatings and a more physical than emotional relationship

Summary

Moti achieves a mental age level of 5 years and 2 months according to the Stanford-Binet (L.M.). He is confused and disoriented and can complete only the most simple, concrete tasks Performance on the Bender and Draw-a-Person indicates that there are severe personality disturbances which prohibit him from fulfilling his potential which is probably higher than what has been measured

Psychological Evaluation – Re-Test

(Group Four)

S.K. Year of Birth: 1947
Date of test: 26.3.69

Behaviour Observations

Shlomo willingly entered the room with me and took some time arranging his packages before he was ready to sit down. He is a heavy set, round shaped, short fellow who appeared friendly but who had very difficult speech (severe stuttering). It was, at times, difficult to understand him. He asked, a number of times, what I was writing and was often curious as to the answers he gave and his performance. While drawing the designs on the Bender-Gestalt, he frequently looked up at me for some sign of encouragement before he would continue. He cooperated throughout the testing situation but was somewhat worried that he would not have time afterwards to get to the recreation center.

Findings and Interpretations

Shlomo achieves a mental age level of 4 years 6 months on the Stanford-Binet (L.M. – B.A. = 3 and half years, M.A. = 7, I.Q. = 20). He is able to perform the very simplest of tasks such as sorting things according to color, matching pictures, describing a picture, count to 10, and copy simple figures. He was not able to complete even the most basic types of abstract tasks – follow a series of instructions, explain why we have eyes and ears, find missing objects in a picture. Social understanding as measured by the Stanford-Binet is grossly impaired as is his ability to draw appropriate conclusions from perceived but not explained situations.

His performance on the Bender-Gestalt indicates a higher potential than is achieved on the Stanford-Binet. There is an obvious understanding of the concepts of order, and an attempt at dealing with size properly, although there are distortions and rotations of certain figures. The overall picture is one of an attempt to compensate for his difficulties.

His figure drawings are extremely simple and very much resemble the typical organic figure drawing. He called his first drawing "Nasser" and described him as being bad and making war. He volunteered to then draw Hussein. This is seen again as an attempt to compensate and overcome his problems. He can relate to his world on a level which permits him adequate functioning in his limited environment.

Summary

Shlomo earns a mental age of 4 years 6 months on the Stanford-Binet (L.M.). He is able to perform the simple tasks such as counting to 10 and matching pictures but anything which demands more abstract reasoning is beyond his ability.

Both the Bender Gestalt and his figure drawings while being objectively poor, indicate a great effort on his part to overcome his difficulties and make an adequate adjustment.

APPENDIX III

BEHAVIOUR SCALES*

A. Aggressive Behaviour Scale

1. He hits and pushes others
2. He finds fault with what others do
3. He does things to get others angry
4. He teases others
5. He likes an audience all the time
6. He tries to be the center of attention
7. He tries to get others into trouble
8. He does things just to attract attention
9. He threatens to hurt others when he is angry
10. He disturbes others with his boisterous behaviour

B. Withdrawan Behaviour Scale

1. On the playground he just stands around
2. He is afraid of making mistakes
3. He is easily upset by changes in things around him
4. He gives in when another child insists on doing something another way
5. He becomes frightened easily
6. He is fearful of being hurt at play
7. He never speaks up even when he has every right to be angry
8. He never sticks up for himself when others pick on him
9. He is slow in making friends
10. He becomes embarrassed easily

0 = not descriptive
1 = somewhat descriptive
2 = definitely descriptive

* modified from Ross, et al.

C. Social Behaviour Scale

1. He is a helpful person
2. He is alert at work
3. He has the ambition to do well
4. He is sure of himself
5. He works well by himself
6. He is able to concentrate on things
7. He accepts my suggestions
8. He is interested in work
9. He is popular with his mates
10. He seems as happy as most people

D. Passive-aggressive Behaviour Scale

1. Any form of discipline makes him furious
2. He has to have everything his own way
3. When angry he will refuse to speak to anyone
4. He sulks when things go wrong
5. He resents even the most gentle criticism of his work
6. He is stubborn
7. He gives other children dirty looks
8. When angry he will do things like slamming the door or banging the desk
9. He has a "chip on his shoulder"
10. He has changeable moods

0 = not descriptive
1 = somewhat descriptive
2 = definitely descriptive

APPENDIX IV

MENTAL RETARDATION SCALES

(Rishpon. N = 140)

Section A – Knowledge

(All figures in percentages)

		True	Partly True	Don't Know	Not True
1.	Once retarded always retarded	37	37	16	9*
2.	Retardation is a result of illness during pregnancy	11	38*	30	21
3.	Retardation has an equal incidence in all classes	53	9	18	19*
4.	It is not possible to prevent retardation	54	20*	14	9
5.	The retarded has a weak mind but a strong body	33	29	10	26*
6.	Better treatment at birth will diminish the number of retarded	20*	29	30	18
7.	Retardation is hereditary	20	31*	16	31
8.	Early medical treatment can cure 50% of retarded	14	22	26	31*
9.	Reading difficulty in school is a sign of retardation	8	11	7	74*
10.	Retardates have a shorter life span than others	26	10*	43	21

* Regarded as correct response.

Section B – Attitude

(All figures in percentages)

		Agree	Partly agree	Not sure No answer	Disagree
1.	Retarded are less moral as compared to others	23	15	29	32
2.	The place of the retarded is in a suitable institution	78	17	2	7
3.	The retarded tend to delinquency	14	26	21	38
4.	The retarded cannot be a good worker	9	19	13	59
5.	It is desirable to forbid marriage of the retarded	44	14	22	17
6.	Married retarded should not have children	52	9	29	9
7.	The retarded should work apart in sheltered workshops	47	21	11	19
8.	It is desirable to prevent contact between retarded and children under ten	41	24	14	20
9.	The retarded cannot be a good husband	15	15	49	20
10.	The retarded is not emotionally stable	46	12	31	9
11.	The retarded is an unfortunate, who suffers a lot	49	20	11	19